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ABSTRACT

Using a sample of 276 families living in Syracuse, New York, this study examined the effects of different ecological contexts (i.e., the workplace, the neighborhood, and personal social networks) on the effectiveness of the family as a child-rearing system. Following an introductory overview (Chapter I) of the study's objectives and its theoretical framework, Chapter II provides an overview of the sample design and its demographic characteristics, specifies variables, and describes models and methods used for the analysis of data. An array of findings, beginning with mothers' perceptions of their children and then linking these perceptions to their views of extra-familial influences are presented in Chapters III and IV respectively. Chapter V examines the contours of work and family arrangements as they are perceived by a sample of white married women, employed in part- and full-time jobs. Chapter VI addresses questions about how parents view and evaluate their neighborhoods and about ways different neighborhood ecologies contribute to and inhibit parents' and children's activities. In Chapter VII social network data as informal systems of social support are discussed, and then linked in Chapter VIII with mothers' perceptions of themselves, their children, and (if married) their husbands. Finally, the implications of study findings for evaluation of program effects are presented in Chapter IX. A detailed description of the methods used to select families and neighborhoods for the study, as well as descriptive profiles of each neighborhood selected are included in the appendices. (Author/MP)

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CONTEXTS FOR CHILDREARING:
THE ECOLOGY OF FAMILY LIFE
IN SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

A FINAL REPORT TO
THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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The Comparative Ecology
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Cornell University
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In addition to the people whose names appear as authors of this report, special recognition for underlying conceptual work is given to William Alvarez and Mary Larner. The comprehensive model for testing homogeneity of regressions used throughout the report was developed and applied by C. Henderson. Other programming, analysis, and data management was carried out by Henderson, Liz Kiely, Sam Morrie, Margaret Campbell, and William Alvarez. Assistance in qualitative analysis was provided by Nancy Bursten, Marguerite Bertrand, and Ann Bell.

As this report was in its final stage of preparation, we learned of the sudden death of Sara Scheu who had been a central participant in the early analysis of social network data. We would like to take this opportunity to acknowledge Sara's vigilance and extraordinary competence in shepherding the coding of this monumental data set. Sara, however, was far more than an effective worker; she was sensitive, enthusiastic, and a loving person whose presence and style of life encouraged all of us toward greater self-discovery. Her example will serve as a powerful model to those who follow.

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William E. Cross, Jr. and Moncrieff M. Cochran

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Charles R. Henderson, Jr.

Chapter 3: The Ecology of Family Perceptions
Urie Bronfenbrenner

Chapter 4: Parents' Perceptions of the Outside World
Charles R. Henderson, Jr. and Heather Weiss

Chapter 5: Work
Heather Weiss

Chapter 6: Families and Neighborhoods
Heather Weiss

Chapter 7: Social Networks as Informal Systems of Support
Moncrieff M. Cochran and Margaret L. Campbell

Chapter 8: Primary Networks and Maternal Perceptions
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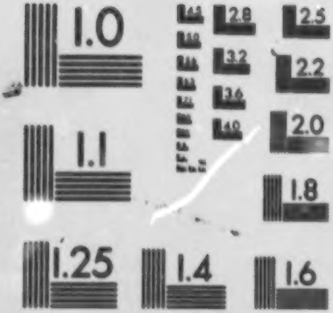
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CHAPTER 1

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

William E. Cross, Jr. and Moncrieff M. Cochran

> Today we acknowledge that the massive alteration of the natural environment made possible by modern technology and industrialization can destroy the physical ecology essential to life itself. We have yet to recognize that this same awesome process now has its analogue in the social realm as well, that the unthinking exercise of massive technological power, and an unquestioning acquiescence to the demands of industrialization can unleash social forces which, if left unbridled, can destroy the human ecology -- the social fabric that nurtures and sustains our capacity to live and work together effectively and to raise children to become competent and compassionate members of society (Bronfenbrenner, 1981).

In an article entitled "Children and Families: 1984", Urie Bronfenbrenner refers to George Orwell's prophetic prediction of the destruction of free Western society and its basic institutions, including the family, by the year 1984. He goes on to argue that while Orwell may have picked the right year and outcome, he was wrong in attributing that outcome to human efficiency rather than human ineptitude. Bronfenbrenner sees the erosion of the power of the family and the child rearing system as a product of public indifference, and he feels that we are failing to come to terms with some hard realities. The research described in this final baseline report has been conducted in an attempt to confront some of those realities.

The Family Matters Project was established in 1976 with support from a variety of funding sources to study the "capacity of urban American environments to serve as support systems to parents and other adults directly involved in the care, upbringin and education of children" (Bronfenbrenner and Cochran, Note 1, p. 1). To conduct such a study we set out in two complementary directions: first to understand existing formal and informal support systems as they currently affect families with preschool children; second, to assess the potential impact of an experimental program building on existing family strengths and local resources. The latter was designed as an alternative to the "deficit model" characterizing most social programs in American society. In this second endeavor, trained neighborhood workers were made available to families to provide child, family, and community-related information through home visits and cluster groupings.

The first effort seeks to capitalize on an "experiment of nature" by comparing contexts of childrearing both within America and through cross-cultural comparisons. Colleagues in Sweden, Israel, Wales and West Germany have been gathering data from families with preschool children which bear upon the relationship between stresses experienced in the parenting and work roles, and the support systems, informal as well as formal, which are utilized in response to those stresses. We have been gathering similar data in Syracuse, New York, and expect to be comparing our findings with those of our colleagues overseas in order to better understand the part played by public investment at the community level in recognizing and supporting the parenting role.

The role of this report, however, is on the evaluation of that purely American aspect of our enterprise, the baseline assessment and the intervention that has followed. Prior to the launching of our parental empowerment program, called Family Matters, we gathered demographic data, perceptions and descriptions of contexts beyond the immediate family (including the neighborhood, the world of work and personal social networks), perceptions of family members, and descriptions of the child's daily activities from the parents in 276 families living in Syracuse, New York. These data constitute the baseline phase of an evaluation strategy designed to provide information about the impact of the Family Matters program upon the performance of children in kindergarten and first grade.

The follow-up data required to permit pre-post comparison will be collected during fall, 1981 and spring, 1982. The primary purpose of the analyses undertaken for this report has been to illuminate aspects of the ecology of family life likely to have an effect upon and be affected by the intervention program. With these data in hand we are in a position to generate a more differentiated set of hypotheses about the impacts of program activities on families in the various ecological niches included in our sample.

The Ecological Perspective

Detailed discussions of the project's conceptual framework, supported by literature reviews, have been presented elsewhere (Bronfenbrenner and Cochran, Note 1; Cross et al., Note 2). In this introduction to the baseline analysis we review only those concepts underlying the project which provide the conceptual basis for the analyses to follow.

The ecological perspective takes as its starting point the view that human behavior is explained not only by the influences associated with the immediate setting containing the developing child (i.e., home, school classroom, etc.), but also those external settings which have an indirect impact on the child through their effects upon the mental health and general well-being of the father and/or mother (for example, the legal system, welfare system, world of work). Thus growth is conceived as a series of encounters across as well as within ecological systems that both include and are external to the home environment. One such encounter, the transition from home to school, is a major event in the life of a child and one of the major foci of our experimental program. For the young adult there is the transition from school to full-time employment or homemaking. Later on, transitions such as that from full-time employment to retirement are experienced.

In viewing the developing person across time and space, the focus of the ecological perspective is not only on the behavior of that person but also the perceptions, behavior and attitudes of key people in the environment, as they affect and are affected by the individual in question. Thus, the ecological approach places a premium on reciprocity, systems analysis, life course development and, by implication, the value of longitudinal studies.

Since recent research has pointed to the possibility that laboratory-based studies of human behavior produce results that may not be replicable in natural settings, those utilizing the ecological perspective also stress the importance of collecting data in surroundings familiar to the subject, using methods that provide subjects with considerable control over the research situation. In the case of the Family Matters project, these methods have consisted primarily of open-ended interviews and participant observations.

While the forces affecting the lives of most children on the surface appear to be similar, the characteristics, quality of life and dynamics of those forces can differ markedly as a consequence of such factors as race, income, family structure, ethnicity, and culture.

Because families in the same neighborhood tend to be similar in race, socioeconomic status, family structure and even maternal employment patterns, the neighborhood as a concept takes on special importance from the ecological perspective (Bronfenbrenner, Note 3). From this vantage point, the neighborhood becomes a major locus for what we call an ecological niche. A child's ecological niche is defined by the immediate setting containing the child (home, local park, nursery school classroom), the interconnections among those settings, and the major institutions as they indirectly affect the child (parent's workplace, welfare system, school board). Certain niches occur more frequently than others in American society, and so characterize our society. We have systematically sampled a number of these model niches in this research project, and the analyses reported in this documented reflect that sampling strategy.

Since contrasting ecological niches place different demands on families, those of us utilizing the ecological perspective eschew monadic concepts of family functioning, and seek instead to discover links between patterns of family functioning and the demand characteristics of the most common human ecologies. Many of the links between different ecologies and variations in human development have remained relatively unexplored by social scientists, and so contemporary ecological studies most often devote more attention to the generation of hypotheses than to the testing of previously established empirical findings.

Although the ecological framework incorporates a number of systems through which human behavior may be influenced (mass media, education, employment, etc.), one such system has characteristics which combine to provide it with special potential for mediating between forces more distant from the family and the relationship between parent and child. The personal social network provides every parent with social links to others outside the home who can provide a variety of supportive services to both parent and child (Cochran and Brassard, 1979). These contacts may serve as bridges to other major ecological contexts, like the neighborhood, the school and the world of work. Because it can serve so many functions for parent and child, the social network has a prominent place in our conceptual model and in this analysis of baseline data.

One other concept which has greatly influenced the kinds of data gathered in this research project is ecological validity. Central to the concept of ecological validity is knowledge of the subjects' definition of the siutation, for without such knowledge the researcher has no way of knowing whether the subject is experiencing the environment in the way it is perceived by the researcher (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Accordingly, in this research we rely heavily upon parents' perceptions of the worlds inside and beyond their families, believing that by combining these perceptions with "objective" information also related to these worlds, we can understand what motivates parents living in differing ecological niches to organize their lives and the lives of their children in the ways they do.

The focus of the research, and the overall thrust of this report, is on the capacity of various ecological settings to serve as supports to parents and other caregivers as they function in their childrearing roles. The Family Matters experimental program was designed with two general hypotheses in mind: 1) that the development of the child's ability to function effectively outside the home depends on the extent and manner in which parents and others engage with him in joint activities; and 2) that the capacity of parents to engage in such joint behavior depends on the extent to which there exist external support systems that provide them with opportunity, assistance, status, resources and channels of communication. The Family Matters program is being evaluated with these two hypotheses in mind. This report, which presents analyses of baseline data related to that evaluation, begins with an overview of research methods and models. We then present an array of findings, beginning with mothers' perceptions of their children (Chapter 3) and then linking these perceptions to their views of extra-familial influences like the world of work and the neighborhood (Chapter 4). Attention is then focused on those two external contexts through fine-grained qualitative analysis; Chapter 5 provides an in-depth examination of mothers' experiences with employment, and the ten program neighborhoods are analysed and evaluated in Chapter 6. In Chapter 7 attention shifts to the informal supports mothers describe as available to them. Social networks data are presented there, and then linked in Chapter 8 with mothers' perceptions of themselves, their children and (if married) their husbands. Finally, by way of summary, the implications of our findings for evaluation of program effects are presented in Chapter 9.

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CHAPTER 2

MODELS AND METHODS

Charles R. Henderson, Jr.

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of our sample design and its demographic characteristics, specifies variables, and describes models and methods for analysis. The discussion of the demographic characteristics of the families focuses on differences between sample subgroups that are the basis for the reporting of results in the rest of the report.

It is important to note that this report discusses results for mothers from our white sample only. Results comparing Black and white families, and mothers and fathers, will be given in subsequent reports. Also to be given particular attention in future analyses are effects of neighborhoods and neighborhood types. Thus the results in this report, while presented in their own right as final, can be thought of as the foundation for future analyses that will take into account potentially important additional variables and alternative models.

Sample Design

A primary focus of the study has from its inception been to examine the family as a childrearing system and to examine the effects of different ecological contexts on the effectiveness of this system. To the extent that the research was able to include families from contrasting contexts, such as different work situations and different neighborhoods, we are now able to examine some of the effects of those contexts. In addition, studying families from a number of contexts gives us greater potential to understand relations that hold across contexts, and to make more general inferences regarding these relationships.

External settings and systems of particular interest are the workplace, informal social networks, and the neighborhood. Other variables, such as family SES, race, family structure (marital status), and the sex of the child, are also of primary importance because of the well documented impacts they have on human development. Other variables such as ethnicity are less well documented in the literature of developmental psychology, but are of equal potential consequence.

From an ecological perspective, the neighborhood is of special importance because it constitutes, particularly in modern industrialized societies, a principal environmental sphere in which a number of contexts intersect. Families living in the same neighborhood tend to be similar in race, socioeconomic status, and also, as our own data show, in patterns of family structure, maternal employment, and use of daycare services. Moreover, the research evidence indicates that, within such areas of intersection and overlap between structural variables, the so-called developmental "effects" are multiplied rather than added. In terms of our ecological theory, these special characteristics identify the neighborhood as a major locus for the formation of what we have called an ecological niche.

This perspective on neighborhoods led us to sample families explicitly on the basis of neighborhoods as well as to structure programs around the neighborhood unit. Accordingly, we employed a stratified random sampling procedure at both the level of neighborhoods and of families.

A major effort was made first to define what we meant by a neighborhood and then to identify all the neighborhoods in the city of Syracuse and the suburban regions surrounding it. The process of defining neighborhoods began with the concept of a geographical niche, which we attempted to define in common with our colleagues in the four other countries, based upon natural and man-made physical boundaries, ethnic/racial, social, and cultural boundaries, and the location of neighborhood schools. Niches were then combined into neighborhoods, yielding units that included enough families with a child of the target age for purposes of programs and of analysis, but small enough to be relatively homogeneous and still retain considerable meaning as a neighborhood. This process resulted in 29 city and 28 suburban neighborhoods.

The next stage was to gather accurate data on the ethnic/racial composition of the neighborhoods and on the level of resources available to residents of the neighborhoods (which we for convenience term neighborhood income). The neighborhoods were categorized into four income levels based on estimated 1970 median figures for families in each neighborhood (high: over $13,500; middle: $9,300-13,500; moderate: $8,000-10,000; and low: under $8,000) and five racial/ethnic levels, also taking into account urban or suburban location (city Black: over 50% Black; city mixed: 10-49% Black; city ethnic white: 30% or more first or second generation foreign born; city non-ethnic white: under 10% Black and under 30% ethnic; and suburban non-ethnic white: also under 10% Black and under 30% ethnic). We decided to exclude from the study high-income neighborhoods and city non-ethnic white neighborhoods, giving a three-by-four design, with three levels of income and four levels of race/ethnicity. By choosing from the variety of neighborhood types, we maximized our ability to understand some of the ways that neighborhoods have an effect on the family system. In each of the 12 subclasses, if there were 3 or fewer neighborhoods, each was included in the study; if there were more than 3, we randomly chose 3. This procedure resulted in 18 main-study neighborhoods in addition to the two pilot neighborhoods that were chosen in advance of the main selection process. Certain of the 12 subclasses contain no neighborhoods; there are, for example, in the Syracuse area no low-income, non-ethnic white, suburban neighborhoods.

Once study neighborhoods had been specified, we began the process of identifying all the families in each neighborhood with a three-year-old child. Race (Black vs. non-Black), family structure (married vs. single), and sex of target child are factors of primary interest, and it was possible to obtain information regarding them for the families at the time of sampling. We then employed a stratified random sampling method within each neighborhood, choosing families within each of the 8 subclasses defined by family race, family structure, and sex of child. We aimed for a sample of 16 families from each neighborhood, giving two families in each subclass if available. Of course, certain subclasses were not possible to fill (for example, Black families in certain of the white neighborhoods), and other subclasses, therefore, were correspondingly increased. This method of sampling resulted, as was our intention, in a higher proportion of Black and single-parent families than in the Syracuse area as a whole, and also made certain a substantial sample of ethnic whites.

Programs were assigned on the basis of neighborhoods. We attempted to achieve as good a balance as possible of each of the two original programs* and of control across neighborhood income types and neighborhood ethnicity types. When it was possible to sample three neighborhoods per subclass, assignment of the three program conditions (including control), one to each neighborhood, was made randomly. Similarly, where there were two neighborhoods per subclass, once the decision had been made which two program conditions would be assigned to that subclass, the actual assignment to neighborhoods was random. The program assignment was not divulged to the program staff or to the field staff until after baseline interviewing had been completed in a given neighborhood. The results presented in this report, then, are from interviews prior to program intervention.

Table 2.1 shows our final sample in terms of the factors used in the sampling process: neighborhood income, neighborhood ethnicity, neighborhoods, family race, family structure, and sex of child. Hawkins (Note 1) gives additional detail on the history of the selection of neighborhoods and families. See also Appendix 6.1 of this report.

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* After nine months of program operation, the home-visiting and neighborhood-clustering approaches were merged into a single Family Matters program.

Table 2.1

MAIN STUDY YEAR I SAMPLE

NEIGHBORHOODS by Income/Location/Type	Black				White				TOTALS
	1 Parent		2 Parent		1 Parent		2 Parent		
	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
1. Low Income/City/Mixed									
18 LBJ	1	-	-	-	6	3	3	3	16
19 Near West Side	1	4	-	2	2	1	2	2	14
	2	4	-	2	8	4	5	5	30
2. Low Income/City/Black									
06 Lexington/E. Fayette	4	5	3	3	-	-	-	-	15
13 Tallman/South	2	6	3	3	1	1	1	-	17
21 S. Townsend/Burt	7	5	1	3	-	-	-	-	16
	13	16	7	9	1	1	1	-	48
3. Moderate/Suburban/Non-Ethnic White									
04 Nedrow	-	1	-	-	3	1	6	4	15
16 Mattydale	-	-	-	-	3	1	7	5	16
	-	1	-	-	6	2	13	9	31
4. Moderate/City/Ethnic White									
10 Eastwood North	-	1	-	-	4	3	6	3	17
12 Washington Square/Court	-	-	-	-	-	2	7	7	16
	-	1	-	-	4	5	13	10	33
5. Moderate/City/Mixed									
14 Elmwood	1	-	-	1	-	1	9	4	16
6. Moderate/City/Black									
15 S. Salina/Colvin	4	4	2	1	1	1	-	3	16
7. Middle/Suburban/Non-Ethnic									
05 Pitcher Hill	-	-	-	-	1	-	7	8	16
08 Liverpool	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	8	16
	-	-	-	-	1	-	15	16	32
8. Middle/City/Ethnic White									
11 Tipperary Hill	-	-	-	-	2	-	4	10	16
17 Schiller/Wadsworth	-	-	-	-	1	1	9	5	16
20 Teall/Sunnycrest	-	-	-	-	1	1	6	6	14
	-	-	-	-	4	2	19	21	46
9. Middle/City/Mixed									
09 Westcott/Thorndon	-	3	1	1	2	1	3	4	15
10. Middle/City/Black									
07 Salt Springs	1	2	2	4	3	1	1	4	18
TOTAL	21	31	12	18	30	18	79	76	285
	52		30		48		155		

Other factors of interest could not be explicitly structured into our sample. Data on family income, for example, were not possible to obtain prior to the selection of the families; however, stratifying by neighborhood income resulted in a good sample distribution of family incomes. These data were obtained from the baseline interviews and have been used in analysis. The current analyses have focused on the family-level factors, adding to the original design maternal work status (not employed, working part-time, working full-time)* as an additional factor, and dividing white families into ethnic and non-ethnic groups, giving a two-level ethnicity factor based on the mother's ethnicity (non-ethnic white, ethnic white**).

We undertook to administer the Social Networks, Child-Caregiver Activities, and Stresses and Supports instruments to all families in the sample. A small number of families received only one or two of the instruments because of the difficulty of setting up a time for the remaining interviews. In addition, following intensive reading of the protocols and some quantitative analysis, certain protocols in each instrument were determined to be of unusable quality and were eliminated from the sample used for analysis. An earlier analysis of interview quality allowed some re-interviewing to be done in order to minimize this problem. The sample sizes for this report reflect these reductions.

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* Full-time work is defined as working more than 35 hours per week; part-time work is defined as from 4 to 35 hours per week, including some occasional workers; not working includes those who do not work and those whose work is extremely limited or irregular.

** Non-ethnic whites include: American general, American regional, general Canadian, English, West European, Scandinavian, and mixture. Ethnic whites include: North American Indian, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Latino, Central American, Irish, Greek, Italian, Polish, Eastern European, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Asian, Korean, Vietnamese, Jewish, Israeli, Middle Eastern, German, and French Canadian.

Observations of the child in natural settings were carried out on a subset of the entire sample. The aim was to select four families in each neighborhood, filling where possible each of the four race by family structure subclasses, and keeping an even distribution across sex of child. Families' willingness to participate in observations was also occasionally a consideration.

Sample Characteristics

We turn next to a summary of relations among background variables in our sample of 209 white families. Results reported are significant at the .10 level or greater. Differences were examined for mother's ethnicity, mother's work status, family structure, and sex of child.

Our single mothers are of three main types: those who live alone, those who live with male partners, and those who live with parents. We have examined whether these types are distributed differentially by our model factors: ethnicity, sex of child, and mother's work status. There are no significant differences by these factors; Table 2.2 shows frequencies for these single mothers.

Table 2.2

Types of White Single Mothers

	non-ethnic				ethnic			
	boy		girl		boy		girl	
Type	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W	NW	W
lives alone	6	4	3	3	2	4	3	1
lives with partner	3	3	2	2	2	1	3	1
lives with parents	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	2

NW = Non working

W = Working

In two-parent families, there are no differences by mother's work status, ethnicity, or sex of child when we look at father's education, father's age, father's occupation, or the number of hours the father works. Married mothers are as a group older than single mothers.

Not surprisingly, two-parent households have higher incomes than one-parent, and incomes are higher for both single and two-parent families when the mother works than when she does not; this situation is magnified in the two-parent case.

When permanence of residency is examined either by number of recent moves or by time in current neighborhood, the highest mobility occurs for single mothers and for those who do not work, with the single, non-working group moving the most.

Table 2.3

Ethnicity of Mothers in White Sample

	Single		Married		Total
Ethnicity	Boy	Girl	Boy	Girl	
Irish	4	5	10	12	31
Italian	3	2	7	7	19
German	3	1	9	4	17
Polish	0	2	4	2	8
Other Ethnic	0	0	7	7	14
	10	10	37	32	89
Non-Ethnic	18	11	46	47	122

The 89 ethnic mothers in our sample are predominantly Irish, Italian, German, and Polish. There are no significant differences in the distribution of these families when we consider family structure and sex of child. Table 2.3 summarizes these data. Of these ethnic mothers, just over half (48) live in neighborhoods that we have classified as ethnic. Approximately 25 percent of our non-ethnic mothers live in these ethnic neighborhoods.

In our sample, mothers are older in ethnic families in which the target child is a girl and in non-ethnic families in which the child is a boy than in the ethnic-boy and non-ethnic-girl groups. This is especially true for two-parent families, but also holds for single mothers. We will in subsequent chapters discuss a large number of by sex-of-child by ethnicity interactions. This result on mother's age may provide evidence in relation to an interpretation of later findings based on a life-cycle confounding with ethnicity and sex. Do ethnic families place a higher priority on boys and continue to have children until they have a male child? Is it possible that the older average age of mothers in the ethnic-girl subclass exists because a substantial proportion of these families has yet to have a first male child? Consistent with this interpretation, there are more children in ethnic families where the target child is a girl and in non-ethnic families where the child is a boy than in the other two groups. In addition, the birth position of the target child (the number of siblings older than the target child) is highest for ethnic girls, and lowest for ethnic boys. When we look, however, for two-parent families at the proportion of families, in each sex-by-ethnicity subclass, that has one or more male children older than the target child, we find that the proportion is lower when the target child is a girl than a boy, but this does not differ by ethnicity.

In our sample, the target child is older in the ethnic families (by an average of 43 days), and that trend is stronger for two-parent families. Non-ethnic mothers have more education than ethnics, in two-parent families, but the reverse holds for single mothers.

Mothers who work have more years of formal education than those who do not, especially if they have an ethnic background or if they are married. Also, more hours of both in-home and external daycare are used when the mother works. Single mothers of girls and married mothers of boys use the most in-home care. Single mothers use more extrafamilial care than married mothers.

Coding of Protocols and Variable Construction

The coding process has been described in detail in previous project reports (Note 2, Note 3). A complete reference for coding instructions is the Project codebooks (Note 4).

For the Stresses and Supports and Child-Caregiver Activities interviews, and for Observations, coding is done at the level of "units" or codable phrases that meet certain precise criteria, as summarized below. These units are then combined into variables. This section next gives a brief discussion of the variables derived from these instruments. (Observations variables are analogous to those from the Child-Caregiver Activities interview.) Chapter 7 discusses in detail the variables derived from the Social Networks interview.

Variables that represent the mother's perceptions of internal and external factors in her life have been derived from the Stresses and Supports instrument. This open-ended interview provided the opportunity for the respondents to describe persons and activities within the family -- specifically, the child, self, spouse, and household work -- as well as extrafamilial domains such as the neighborhood, finances, housing, respondent's work, and spouse's work.

Each unit is coded, either as a stress or as a support, by two levels of intensity (how strongly it is stated), by specific subject (the person holding the positive or negative attitude), and by specific domain content. Where appropriate, units are also coded for household and nonhousehold people that are the object of the statement, and for general themes, such as attitudes toward the future, that potentially apply across a variety of domain areas. The coding categories are given in detail in the Project codebooks (Note 4).

Variables are obtained for each respondent by computing a sum, weighted by intensity, over all units that meet a set of criteria -- specific to each variable -- regarding the subject, domain, themes, and people. This is done separately for stress units and support units, giving two scores for each basic variable. In each case, the larger the score, the greater the stress or support.

Because two different interview versions, with slight variations in questions, were used in the baseline assessment, units produced by certain questions were excluded in the construction of variables in order to insure comparability across respondents.

In this report, we have made the decision to treat separately the stress and the support scores for a given variable, rather than to analyze a difference score. We took this approach based on preliminary analyses revealing that in almost all instances, the two scores were measureing different variables.

The variables discussed in the subsequent chapters are a subset of all those that were constructed. The names of the variables as used in the text describe the content in general terms. A detailed description of the definition of the variables in terms of coding categories is available upon request.

The Child-Caregiver Activities Interview (CCA) is an open-ended interview designed to assess the caretaker's perceptions of the nature and context of activities engaged in by the child and/or others involved in the child's ecology. The data in the present report are based on a coding scheme used to classify the mother's descriptions of these activities for the day preceding the interview. To do so, three different general socializing contexts involving the mother were defined. Each led to a variable for each respondent, as a result of summing all units that met specified criteria.

Mother Joint with Equal Power - Activity units aggregated to obtain this variable were those in which the mother had been coded as being actively engaged in a common activity with the child. Additionally, the balance of power between the mother and child had to be coded as undifferentiated. That is, neither the mother nor child was perceived as taking a directive role in the activity.

Mother Joint with Power - Again, the mother was coded as being actively engaged in a common activity with the child. In contast to the preceding variable, in this socializing context the mother was coded as taking a leading role in directing the activity.

Mother Unidirectional - Activities included in this variable were those in which the mother was directing the child's behavior, but was not herself engaged in the child's activity.

Coder reliabilities have been examined at both the unit and the variable level for Stresses and Supports, Child-Caregiver Activities, and Observations. For observations, observer reliabilities have also been calculated. Social network coding also produces both raw and derived variables, and reliabilities have been computed at both the level of the orignally coded data and for the derived variables.

Unit-level reliabilities are based on formulas for percentage of agreement between coders. Variable reliabilities are computed as correlations between the coders of the derived variable scores. Reliabilities have been presented in Appendix 2 of Weiss, Henderson, and Bronfenbrenner (Note 2) and in Appendices C, D, and E of the May 1980 Project report (Note 3).

Models and Methods for Analysis

The final results discussed in this report are based on a variety of models and analytic methods, each based in General Linear Model methodology. Some of these models receive additional discussions in the following chapters. This section gives in general terms a summary of analysis steps.

Variable Reduction

The first step following coding and constructing variables was one of screening the variables in several ways. Frequencies computed for content categories (for the sample as a whole, for sample subgroups, and by families) were used in helping to decide which variables to construct. Low frequency categories were eliminated or combined with other conceptually related categories in specifying derived variables. These frequencies were also used to check for impossible or outlying coded values. After variables were constructed, the process of checking for erroneous values continued. Frequencies on the variables were examined, and some graphs of variable values were made. Part of this analysis was a detailed examination of interview quality, including reading the protocols, and eliminating from further analysis a few substandard interviews from each instrument. In these substandard interviews, a low variable score could not reasonably be attributed to anything but an inadequate attempt by the interviewer to elicit responses from the mother or father or to their refusal to respond in detail.

At this stage, we also carried out a number of analyses to determine whether or how to correct for potential effects of differing numbers of units resulting from variation in: the volubility of respondents; the amount of information elicited and recorded by interviewers; the amount of information coded by different coders; interview versions, resulting from minor changes in questions that took place during the baseline data collection. The primary basis for deciding whether or not to use these corrections was whether the adjusted variables differentiated more precisely across well established demographic contrasts such as age, income, and sex of child. The results indicated that such corrections did not improve validity. We thus chose to work with the raw scores. Accordingly, this report is based on variables uncorrected for "fluency" effects.

The next step was to select variables upon which to concentrate in the final analyses. Frequencies based on content categories had been used in deciding which variables to construct. Now we looked at the frequencies by constructed variables. Specifically, for each variable we looked at the proportion of respondents that had a score greater than zero in the sample as a whole and in each of a number of subgroups (for example, the groups defined by race, family structure, sex of child, and -- where there are data on fathers -- sex of parent). This proportion proves to be a meaningful distinction for the type of variables under examination. To qualify for further consideration, a variable was required to obtain a proportion of .5 or higher in at least one of the subgroups. Occasionally the criterion was made more or less restrictive, but this illustrates the general approach.

We then examined in detail the validity of the qualifying variables. To do this, the simple correlations of our variables with a set of demographic variables were examined, separately for the subgroups mentioned above. As a result of this process, a reduced set of variables that had valid and reasonably strong relations to variables of interest was chosen for our primary substantive analyses.

Analytic Models

The analysis of interrelations among variables is the primary focus of this report. For a given variable, we are interested in: (1) testing by analysis of variance and covariance whether there are (mean) differences for particular subgroups, defined, for example, by ethnicity and sex of child; and (2) the strength and direction of relations between the dependent variable and other continuous variables (including both demographic variables and variables derived from our instruments). In the second case, whether the regressions are homogeneous for each subgroup of our model is examined. This process is necessary in order to answer in a meaningful way the questions about the strength and direction of the regression between the two variables. Also, differences in regressions for the groups are usually of substantive interest.

The final step combines the two approaches. The tests of homogeneity of regressions determine which regressions should be included in the model. The mean differences can then, under proper conditions, be tested in an analysis of covariance adjusting for the continuous variables. When the regressions of the covariates are not homogeneous over levels of factors or interactions in the model, constraints are imposed on which tests regarding group (mean) differences can be made. See Henderson (1982) for a detailed discussion of nonhomogeneous regressions.

We also can look at several continuous variables simultaneously, each with possibly different regressions on certain subgroups. This step involves two distinct, although interrelated tasks: model-building, in the sense of determining which demographic variables to include (this may be different for different groups); and testing whether the relation between the dependent variable and a demographic variable is the same for each subgroup in the model.

The same issues arise whether examining relations between child-independent and socializing activities, between maternal perceptions of intrafamilial and external domains, or between perceptions and social networks variables. It must be determined which variables are related to which other variables, which groups of variables should be considered simultaneously, and whether the same relations hold for all groups.

Because of the extremely large number of relations that could be examined, the variables for cross-concept analyses were further limited through a combination of decisions based on our judgment about questions of greatest interest, likelihood of finding a relation, and the results of preliminary regression analyses. The set of explanatory variables to be considered, both demographic and from instruments, includes the second power (quadratic) of the basic variables.

The primary categorical variables examined in this report are sex of child, mother's ethnicity (ethnic white, non-ethnic white), marital status (married, not married), and mother's work status (not working, working part- and full-time). Then, for example, in a model that includes ethnicity (E), marital status (P), and sex of child (S), the relation between, say, the mother's positive perceptions of the child (y) and joint activities with the child where the power is equal (x) can be examined. We begin by looking at separate regressions for smallest subclasses defined by the three classification factors. The model is

$$y_{ijkl} = \mu + e_i + p_j + (ep)_{ji} + s_k + (es)_{ik} + (ps)_{jk} + (eps)_{ijk} + \beta_{ijk}\, x_{ijkl} + e_{ijkl},$$

where $i = 1,2$; $j=1,2$; $k=1,2$; $l=1, \ldots, n_{ijk}$=number of observations in ijk^{th} subclass. Not examining the homogeneity of the regressions means estimating only a single, overall β from all the covariate values for MJEP (mother-joint-equal-power activity variable);

here we estimate and test differences regarding eight different regressions. From this model, we can test whether these eight regressions differ, and if not, whether there are differences by, say, the four ES subclasses averaging over P, or whether the two E groups differ. (That is, we can test whether the regressions differ for each interaction and main effect in the model.)

The results of this analysis can be summarized in the form shown in Table 2.4. The first eight rows show the regression coefficients for the eight subclasses and the statistical significance of each. (Also shown is the number of observations in those eight subclasses.) The remaining rows show the estimated coefficients and the test probabilities for the regressions on combinations of subclasses and for the differences among these regressions. At the bottom, the one- and two-parent samples are examined separately. Since the primary purpose here is to examine the regressions, tests of mean differences (even where homogeneity of regressions permit an interpretable test) are not shown. Table 2.4 is the generic form for the majority of analyses presented in this report. It can be extended as in Chapter 8 to examine several basic variables with possibly different regressions by subclasses.

Through this process, a final model can be specified, knowing how many different regressions should be included (i.e., for which groups) for each original continuous variable. At this point, we can carry out final tests of differences between groups, independent of the covariate values (but adjusted for them), for those comparisons for which this is possible. Again, whether

Table 2.4

Regression of "Positive Perceptions of the Child" on "Mother's Activities with the Child where the Balance of Power is Equal" (MJEP).

Effects of MJEP		$\hat{\beta}$	F-Ratio	Prob.
Effects by Smallest Subclasses $(\beta_{ijk})^1$:				
N=18	$e_1p_1s_1$	.08	.29	.59
10	$e_1p_1s_2$	-.04	.13	.72
43	$e_1p_2s_1$	.04	.38	.54
44	$e_1p_2s_2$	.20	8.76	.004**
10	$e_2p_1s_1$	[illegible]	3.38	.07#
8	$e_2p_1s_2$	[illegible]	2.32	.11
34	$e_2p_2s_1$	[illegible]	4.39	.04*
30	$e_2p_2s_2$	-.06	.53	.47
Estimates and Tests of Coefficients within Levels of Main Effects and Interactions, and Tests of Homogeneity of Regressions:				
	e_1	.07	1.07	.30
	e_2	.26	6.63	.01**
	(HR)[2](E)	-.77	2.43	.12
	p_1	.24	4.36	.04*
	p_2	.09	4.53	.03*
	(HR)(P)	.58	1.40	.24
	e_1p_1	.01	0.00	.95
	e_1p_2	.13	4.38	.04*
	e_2p_1	.47	5.87	.02*
	e_2p_2	.05	.77	.38
	(HR)(EP)	-1.09	4.94	.03*
	s_1	.21	5.80	.02*
	s_2	.13	2.08	.15
	(HR)(S)	.31	.41	.52
	e_1s_1	.07	.63	.43
	e_1s_2	.07	.45	.50
	e_2s_1	.34	5.57	.02*
	e_2s_2	.19	1.66	.20
	(HR)(ES)	-.29	.34	.56
	p_1s_1	.29	3.49	.06#
	p_1s_2	.19	1.23	.27
	p_2s_1	.12	3.05	.08#
	p_2s_2	.07	1.51	.22
	(HR)(PS)	.11	.05	.82
	(HR)(EPS)	.45	.87	.36
	Overall $\hat{\beta}$	.17	7.36	.007**
For Two Parents Only:				
	e_1	.13	4.38	.04*
	e_2	.05	.77	.38
	(HR)(E)	.16	.86	.36
	s_1	.12	3.05	.08#
	s_2	.07	1.51	.22
	(HR)(S)	.10	.32	.57
	(HR)(ES)	-.37	4.43	.04*
For One Parent Only:				
	e_1	.01	0.00	.95
	e_2	.47	5.87	.02*
	(HR)(E)	-.93	4.10	.04*
	s_1	.29	3.49	.06#
	s_2	.19	1.23	.27
	(HR)(S)	.21	.22	.64
	(HR)(ES)	.08	.03	.86

[1] E = Ethnicity (1 = non-ethnic, 2 = ethnic)
P = Family Structure (1 = one parent, 2 = two parents)
S = Sex of target child (1 = boy, 2 = girl)

# indicates $p \leq .10$
* indicates $p \leq .05$
** indicates $p \leq .01$

[2] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regressions within levels of the effects indicated.

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such tests can be made depends upon the homogeneity of particular regressions. In these tests, attention is focused on second- and higher-order effects -- interactions among two or more variables that may be categorical or continuous.

Each effect is tested adjusting for all other terms in the model (all classification factors and interactions, and all covariates), averaging equally over levels of cross-classified fixed factors (i.e., a weighted squares of means analysis). We also in some cases tested the hypothesis implied by a weighted average over levels of cross-classified factors, where the weights were the sample subclass sizes. This was done as a precaution against effects caused by small numbers in certain subclasses in some models. In fixed models, each of these approaches results in an exact test, although, of course, of a different hypothesis.

Models and methods of analysis are discussed in greater detail in previous reports (Note 2, Note 3).

As anyone who attempts to understand data realizes, there exists no single, best analytic strategy. Frequently, only part of a theoretical idea can be looked at at any one time; models can only represent some of the real-world phenomena that the researcher thinks are important. Thus, the analyses in this report do not make use of latent variables or simultaneous equations, neighborhoods as a random classification factor, or other potentially important variables that, if included together with the ones in the current models, would introduce complications of unfilled subclasses. We believe that it was essential first to gain understanding of the comparisons of primary importance, such as ethnicity, family structure, sex

Table 2.4

Regression of "Positive Perceptions of the Child" on "Mother's Activities with the Child where the Balance of Power is Equal" (MJEP).

Effects of MJEP		$\hat{B}$	F-Ratio	Prob.
Effects by Smallest Subclasses (β_{ijk})[1]:				
N=18	$e_1p_1s_1$	.08	.29	.59
10	$e_1p_1s_2$	-.04	.13	.72
43	$e_1p_2s_1$	.04	.38	.54
44	[illegible]p_2s_2	.20	8.76	.004**
10	$e_2p_1s_1$	.50	3.38	.07#
8	$e_2p_1s_2$	.44	2.52	.11
34	$e_2p_2s_1$	.17	4.39	.04*
30	$e_2p_2s_2$	-.06	.53	.47
Estimates and Tests of Coefficients within Levels of Main Effects and Interactions, and Tests of Homogeneity of Regressions:				
	e_1	.07	1.07	.30
	e_2	.26	6.63	.01**
	(HR)[2](E)	-.77	2.43	.12
	p_1	.24	4.36	.04*
	p_2	.09	4.53	.03*
	(HR)(P)	.58	1.40	.24
	e_1p_1	.01	0.00	.95
	e_1p_2	.13	4.38	.04*
	e_2p_1	.47	5.87	.02*
	e_2p_2	.05	.77	.38
	(HR)(EP)	-1.09	4.94	.03*
	s_1	.21	5.30	.02*
	s_2	.13	2.08	.15
	(HR)(S)	.31	.41	.52
	e_1s_1	.07	.63	.43
	e_1s_2	.07	.45	.50
	e_2s_1	.34	5.37	.02*
	e_2s_2	.19	1.66	.20
	(HR)(ES)	-.29	.34	.56
	p_1s_1	.29	3.49	.06#
	p_1s_2	.19	1.23	.27
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	Overall $\hat{\beta}$	.17	7.36	.007**
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	e_1	.13	4.38	.04*
	e_2	.05	.77	.38
	(HR)(E)	.15	.86	.36
	s_1	.12	3.05	.08#
	s_2	.07	1.31	.22
	(HR)(S)	.10	.32	.57
	(HR)(ES)	-.37	4.41	.04*
For One Parent Only:				
	e_1	.01	0.00	.95
	e_2	.47	5.87	.02*
	(HR)(E)	-.93	4.10	.04*
	s_1	.29	3.49	.06#
	s_2	.19	1.23	.27
	(HR)(S)	.21	.22	.64
	(HR)(ES)	.08	.03	.86

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[1] E = Ethnicity (1 = non-ethnic, 2 = ethnic)
P = Family Structure (1 = one parent, 2 [illegible] two parents)
S = Sex of target child (1 = boy, 2 = girl)

# indicates $p \le .10$
* indicates $p \le .05$
** indicates $p \le .01$

[2] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regressions within levels of the effects indicated.

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such tests can be made depends upon the homogeneity of particular regressions. In these tests, attention is focused on second- and higher-order effects -- interactions among two or more variables that may be categorical or continuous.

Each effect is tested adjusting for all other terms in the model (all classification factors and interactions, and all covariates), averaging equally over levels of cross-classified fixed factors (i.e., a weighted squares of means analysis). We also in some cases tested the hypothesis implied by a weighted average over levels of cross-classified factors, where the weights were the sample subclass sizes. This was done as a precaution against effects caused by small numbers in certain subclasses in some models. In fixed models, each of these approaches results in an exact test, although, of course, of a different hypothesis.

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As anyone who attempts to understand data realizes, there exists no single, best analytic strategy. Frequently, only part of a theoretical idea can be looked at at any one time; models can only represent some of the real-world phenomena that the researcher thinks are important. Thus, the analyses in this report do not make use of latent variables or simultaneous equations, neighborhoods as a random classification factor, or other potentially important variables that, if included together with the ones in the current models, would introduce complications of unfilled subclasses. We believe that it was essential first to gain understanding of the comparisons of primary importance, such as ethnicity, family structure, sex of child, maternal work status, and socioeconomic characteristics. In this context, we have given our most detailed attention to the testing of homogeneity of regressions within the sample groups implied by these variables. As will become clear in the following chapters, this was a wise approach; the regressions we examined were typically not the same for all groups, and these differences are at the core of our substantive findings. These data, in fact, raise the general question of how often -- in ecological research, at least -- the simple analysis of covariance model, including only an overall regression coefficient, is appropriate.

Having presented this brief summary of the design and methodological steps underlying this research, we turn now to our first substantive results, those relating to mothers' perceptions of intrafamilial aspects of their lives. The next chapter examines these perceptions in considerable detail, and it is immediately apparent that they vary dramatically as a function of social context. The chapter also provides additional information regarding the statistical methods employed in its analyses and those reported in the remaining chapters.

Reference Notes

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3. The Comparative Ecology of Human Development Project, The Ecology of Family Life: Construct Validity, Cognitive Complexity, and other developments. Cornell University, May, 1980.

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CHAPTER 3

THE ECOLOGY OF FAMILY PERCEPTIONS

Urie Bronfenbrenner[1]

It is a maxim of ecological research that "the main effects are interactions;" that is, observed relationships can be expected to vary substantially across ecological contexts.

Nowhere has this prognosis turned out to be more correct than in our analyses of variations in mothers' descriptions of their three-year-old children as a function of circumstances existing both within and outside the family. Moreover, the principal differentiating contexts that emerged in our analyses were three not usually emphasized in research on environmental influences on children: ethnicity, maternal employment status, and sex of child. Mothers' descriptions of their children, themselves, and their husbands, as well as reports of their child rearing activities and conditions of work outside the home, varied systematically across families defined by different combinations of these three demographic factors. These systematic differences were apparent not only in terms of factors taken one at a time, but also in the relation between independent and dependent variables. For example, correlations between mothers' reports of their own behavior and the characteristics they attributed to the child differed markedly depending on whether the mother had an ethnic background, whether or not she worked, and whether she was describing a son or a daughter. As we shall see, these variations were not haphazard but exhibited consistent patterns from one analysis to the next.

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[1] The comprehensive model for testing homogeneity of regression was developed and applied by C.R. Henderson, Jr.. Supplementary statistical analyses were performed by E. Kiely and W. Alvarez.

The Demography of Mothers' Overall Evaluations of their Children

We begin our presentation of results by examining the demographic correlates of the two most global measures derived from the mother's description of the child. The description was given in response to the open-ended question: "We've been talking about Mary (Johnny); could you tell me something about what she (he) is like?" As reported earlier, the mother's accounts were divided into units and classified on a number of dimensions. One of the simplest and most reliable of these dimensions was whether a comment implied approval or disapproval of the child. The positive or negative response was then rated on a two-step scale of intensity: moderate or strong. By summing these weighted responses, it was possible to calculate two scores: one reflecting the degree to which the mother attributed positive characteristics to her child, the other the degree to which she made disapproving comments. As indicated previously, in our analyses we have treated measures of positive and negative evaluation separately rather than combining them into a single difference score. There were two main reasons for this decision. First, the correlations between positive and negative measures of the same variable were typically low in magnitude, and, although predominately negative, often shifted in sign. Second, and more important, the results for positive and negative measures of the same variable usually exhibited contrasting but consistent patterns both as a function of their content and of the particular social groups being assessed.

Accordingly, we present first data on the demographic correlates of the mother's tendency to describe her child in favorable terms. The data were analyzed in an analysis of variance design, based on our exploratory work, that involved four factors: family structure (one- versus two-parent families); mother's employment status (working versus non-working); ethnicity (ethnic versus non-ethnic); and sex of child. As previously described, the measure of ethnicity was a phenomenological one based on whether or not the mother identified herself as coming from an ethnic background.

Rather than present lengthy tables of mean squares, F ratios, and probability levels for each main effect and interaction generated by the four-factor model, we shall confine ourselves to reporting statistically significant results. There was only one such reliable finding for the mother's tendency to describe her child in positive terms, and, true to expectation, this was an interaction effect: working mothers were more likely to evaluate their children favorably than non-working mothers, but the difference appeared only for mothers from non-ethnic backgrounds. The results are presented in Table 1. Neither ethnicity nor employment status exhibited a simple main effect; only the interaction was significant ($p \leq .05$). Since no reliable differences were found for either family structure or sex of child, these factors are omitted from the table.

As with all interactions, the results can be interpreted from more than one perspective. For example, viewing the same finding from the standpoint of ethnicity suggests that whether or not the mother works has different implications for the child depending on the mother's ethnic identity. Among ethnic families, maternal employment is associated with a less favorable view of the child; in non-ethnic families this relationship is reversed: it is the working mother who describes her child more positively. The data of Table 3.1 can also be interpreted in another way. If the mother's work status is considered as an external environmental condition affecting maternal perceptions of the child, then ethnic identity may be thought of as a factor that reduces the impact of external forces on intrafamilial perceptions. As we shall see, this interpretation

Table 3.1

Mother's Approving Comments about the Child
Means by Maternal Ethnicity and Employment Status

(All White Mothers; N's in Parentheses)

	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic	Difference
Employed	2.98 (35)	4.06 (52)	-1.08
Not Employed	3.40 (51)	2.80 (64)	.60
Difference	-.42	1.26	1.68*

* p ≤ .05

is supported by the results of subsequent analyses.[2]

The results for the mother's negative perceptions of the child are both more focused and more differentiated. At the most general level, there is a strong main effect for family structure: mothers in single-parent families paint a substantially more negative picture of the child than do their counterparts in two-parent households ($p \leq .01$).[3] This relationship is qualified, however, by an equally significant, four-way interaction that, despite its complexity, reveals a consistent pattern. As shown in the last two columns of Table 3.2, the denigrating impact of single-parent status tends to be greater among non-ethnic than among ethnic families except for one group -- daughters in single-parent households headed by working mothers; these girls are worse off when the mother comes from an ethnic background. Once again, it would appear that maternal employment has a different significance for ethnic and non-ethnic families in mediating the effect of environmental influences, in this instance of family structure. If living in a single-parent family is regarded

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[2] One such subsequent analysis, recently completed, added a further distinction: a contrast between mothers working full-time versus part-time (fewer than 35 hours per week). The distinction proved to be critical; it yielded highly reliable interactions both with sex of child and with ethnicity. Specifically, mothers who worked part-time painted a very positive picture of their children ($p \leq .01$), particularly their sons ($p \leq .01$). The least favorable description of boys was given by mothers who were working full-time, of girls by mothers who did not work outside of the home. The direction of causality in these relationships remains unclear. For example, it is possible that mothers who choose to work part-time are those who have experienced more satisfaction with their children.

These relationships were further intensified as a function of ethnicity. In particular, an ethnic background magnified the dampening effect of full-time employment on the mother's picture of the child; the least favorable description of daughters as well as sons came from the mothers in this group ($p \leq .01$). By contrast, the most positive view of daughters was expressed by full-time working mothers from non-ethnic backgrounds. This enthuasism, however, did not extend to boys. Irrespective of ethnicity, mothers who worked full-time were least likely to describe their sons in positive terms ($p \leq .06$). This finding on boys takes on added significance in view of studies by other investigators indicating that sons of working mothers tend to do less well in school (Bronfenbrenner and Crouter 1981). These researchers did not distinguish, however, between the effect of the mother's working part-time vs. full-time.

[3] In general, our analyses reveal a pattern of relationships for single-parent families that differs markedly from that for two-parent households. For this reason, our findings on single-parent families will be the subject of a special report. Some of these results, however, will be mentioned in the present document in order to highlight the importance of a variable that was not relevant for two-parent homes but turned out to be critical in the single-parent situation.

Table 3.2

Mother's Disapproving Comments about the Child
Means by Family Structure, Maternal Employment, Ethnicity, and Sex of Child

(All White Mothers; N's in Parentheses)

	MEANS				DIFFERENCES One-Parent Minus Two-Parent	
	Ethnic		Non-Ethnic		Ethnic	Non-Ethnic
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
	One Parent	Two Parent	One Parent	Two Parent		
Working						
1) Boys	2.40 (5)	2.27 (16)	3.29 (7)	1.10 (20)	.13	2.19
2) Girls	2.75 (4)	.89 (10)	2.33 (5)	2.00 (20)	1.86	.33
Non-Working						
3) Boys	2.20 (5)	1.55 (20)	2.64 (11)	1.58 (23)	.65	1.06
4) Girls	1.60 (5)	1.95 (21)	3.20 (5)	1.69 (25)	-.35	1.51

as a vulnerable situation for children, then ethnic identity mediates the impact of this environmental stress, but in opposite directions for the two sexes. In ethnic families, the fact that the mother works magnifies the depreciating influence of single-parent status on the daughter but reduces it with respect to sons. Conversely, in non-ethnic families, maternal employment increases the impact of environmental stress on sons, but decreases it for daughters. This pattern of results suggests two generalizations at a broader level. First, girls may be in a more vulnerable situation in ethnic families, whereas boys are at greater risk in families from non-ethnic backgrounds. Second, maternal employment, rather than having a simple unidirectional effect, may increase the susceptibility of the family to other environmental influences, whether for better or for worse.

Especially since the post-hoc interpretation of complex statistical interactions is necessarily speculative and subject to error, the validity of the foregoing generalizations remains in question unless and until they are corroborated by additional findings.

Perceptions of the Child as a Function of Mother-Child Activity

One of the two principal hypotheses guiding the present research posits that the engagement by parents in joint activities with their children will predict the emergence of developmentally desirable characteristics in the child. The purely cross-sectional interview data available from the baseline phase of the project impose some limitations on the investigation of this hypothesis, since both the independent and dependent variables are based on mothers' subjective reports rather than on independently derived behavioral measures. The latter will not become available on an across-the board basis until the second wave of the research, when information will be obtained about the child's behavior and performance in the school setting. A phenomenological measure obtained from the parent can nevertheless have some long-term advantages in developmental research. Thus, it is our expectation that the way in which parents perceive the child at a young age may turn out to be a better predictor of future development than objective indices of the child's behavior obtained during the same early period.

The original hypothesis was further qualified with respect to the structure of the activity engaged in by the mother. On the basis of the mother's report of daily events, three primary forms of activity were distinguished:

1) Joint with Equal Power. The mother describes herself and the child as engaged in a common activity in which neither party is identified as controlling the interaction.

2) Joint: Mother Leading. The mother describes a common activity in which she is playing a directive role.

3) Unilateral: Mother Leading. The mother describes herself as directing an activity toward the child but with no indication of any part played by the child in that activity.

Our theoretical perspective (Bronfenbrenner 1979) led to the prediction that the three forms of parent-child activity described above would have differential impact on the child's development, with the first being the most effective, and the last the least powerful. The prediction derives from a curvilinear model of socialization which posits an "optimal level" of parental authority. Either too much or too little parental power is presumed to produce detrimental effects (Bronfenbrenner 1961 1963). Hence, a pattern of parent-child activity in which the balance of power betwe the participants is equal should be most conducive to the child's development. Our findings lend some support both to the general hypothesis and its corrollaries, but once again the results are strikingly qualified by the factors of ethnicity, sex of child, and to a lesser extent, maternal employment. The pertinent data appear in Table 3.3, which shows the relation of three types of maternal activity to the mother's positive evaluation of the child. The results are presented in three sets: those for all mothers, working mothers only, and non-working mothers only. Within each set, separate coefficients were computed

Table 3.3

Correlations between Maternal Activity and Mother's Approving Comments about the Child, by Sex of Child, Ethnicity, and Mother's Work Status

(Two-Parent White Families Only, N's in Parentheses)

	Sons		Daughters	
	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic
Structure of Maternal Activity				
All Mothers	(N=35)	(N=44)	(N=31)	(N=45)
Joint with Equal Power	.36*	.10	-.17	.40**
Joint: Mother Leading	.55**	-.29#	.11	-.05
Unilateral: Mother Leading	.25	.04	-.24	-.01
Working Mothers Only	(N=14)	(N=20)	(N=9)	(N=20)
Joint with Equal Power	.47#	-.06	-.40	.52*
Joint: Mother Leading	.42	-.34	-.13	-.08
Unilateral: Mother Leading	.33	.23	-.66*	-.16
Non-Working Mothers Only	(N=21)	(N=24)	(N=22)	(N=25)
Joint with Equal Power	.28	.30	-.13	.42*
Joint: Mother Leading	.67**	-.21	.08	.16
Unilateral: Mother Leading	.19	.14	-.28	.27

#	$p \leq .10$
*	$p \leq .05$
**	$p \leq .01$

for every combination of ethnicity and sex of child. The data pertain to two-parent families only, since, despite oversampling, there were not enough single-parent households to permit computing separate correlations within this group for each combination of ethnicity, work status, and sex of child.

If we look first at the results for all mothers, we see that the expected positive correlations between maternal activity and the mother's positive description of the child do indeed appear, but only for two groups: the sons of ethnic mothers, and daughters of non-ethnic mothers. The coefficients for the remaining two groups are generally low and unreliable with the highest coefficients actually having a negative sign.[4] When one compares the three forms of maternal activity, it is clear that, as anticipated, a unilateral strategy is the least effective, showing no significant relationship to the mother's positive description of her child. The prediction that joint activity with equal power would yield the highest correlations is borne out only in the case of daughters from non-ethnic families. This equalitarian strategy is also effective with sons of mothers from ethnic backgrounds, but is surpassed by mothers who combine their joint activity with a directive role. When we compare the corresponding correlations for working and non-working mothers, we see that the power of an equalitarian strategy in the two groups tends to be increased when the mother is employed, whereas a directive approach becomes less effective and even counterproductive, particularly with daughters of ethnic mothers.

What inferences can be drawn from this complex but consistent pattern of results? Its most salient feature is the contrasting magnitude of coefficients for groups differentiated by mother's ethnicity and sex of child. Moreover, the reader will recognize a striking isomorphism between this set of correlational findings and those reported earlier on mean differences between the same groups in the extent of mothers' disapproving comments about the child (cf. Table 3.2). In the former instance, the inference was tentatively drawn that girls in ethnic families are in a more vulnerable position, whereas boys are at greater risk in families from non-ethnic backgrounds. Both of these trends were intensified in families in which the mother worked. The present correlational findings point to a complementary, positive aspect of this same pattern. Thus, in ethnic families, maternal activities appear to yield favorable results with sons, but not with daughters; by contrast, in non-ethnic families, it is the daughter who seems to be the beneficiary of mother-child interaction. As before, the pattern becomes more pronounced for families in which the mother is employed.[5]

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[4] The statistical significance of these differences in relationship was evaluated by testing the null hypothesis of homogeneity among regression coefficients. This procedure has the advantage of controlling for variations in the magnitude of correlation produced by differences in variance.

The foregoing interpretation raises a critical problem plaguing the analysis of the baseline data: the issue of direction of causality. The conclusion as stated implies that the mother's perception of the child is a product of her activity, but one could argue persuasively that the process operates in the opposite way. For example, the presence -- or merely the perception -- of positive characteristics in the child could have prompted the mother to engage in joint activity. The fact that this phenomenon may be limited to particular groups defined by ethnicity and sex of child is not without scientific interest, but the issue of causal direction remains, and cannot be definitively resolved with purely cross-sectional data. Its clarification waits upon the second stage of the research. At that time, the combination of a longitudinal design with a planned social experiment will permit assessing the impact of early socialization contexts, processes, and parental perceptions on the child's subsequent behavior in school.

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[5] A subsequent analysis, including a further breakdown of employment by mothers working part-time versus full-time, reveals that, for daughters in non-ethnic families, the mother's equal joint activity has its greatest impact when the mother works full-time; for sons in ethnic families, interaction is most effective when the mother works part-time.

Nevertheless, some light on the causal dilemma can be shed by analyzing other data available from the baseline study. Specifically, if the mother's activity is indeed being determined by the perceived characteristics of the child, then there should be a negative correlation between mother's disapproving comments and the degree of joint activity.

To investigate this possibility, we analyzed mother's negative perceptions in the same design that had been employed to produce the results shown in Table 3.3. No significant correlations were found; the analyses of regression coefficients showed neither reliable main effects nor interactions. The absence of relationship cannot be explained on the ground that the measures used were unreliable, since the same index of mother's negative perception had shown a highly significant difference as a function of family structure, with single-parent mothers making more disparaging comments than their married counterparts (cf. Table 3.2). Moreover, as already noted, an equally reliable interaction effect exhibited a pattern complementing the correlational findings by revealing that the depreciating effects of single-parent status were milder for sons of ethnic mothers and daughters of mothers from non-ethnic backgrounds.

It is of course still possible that, in these two groups, mothers' joint activity is selectively responsive only to positive characteristics of the child. Another set of findings, however, argues against this possibility. It will be recalled (cf. Table 3.1) that among non-ethnic mothers, those who were working described children of both sexes in more positive terms. If the causal sequence runs from maternal perception to maternal behavior, then the employed mothers in this group should report more joint activity than mothers who stayed at home. An analysis of variance of maternal activity scores (see Table 3.4 below) revealed no such overall relationship. Instead, the results were reversed as a function of sex of child. Among non-ethnic mothers, those who worked did report more activity with their daughters than was described by mothers who stayed at home, but the opposite relationship appeared for sons. It was non-working mothers who reported more interaction with boys.

Thus the weight of the evidence points to joint activity as influencing maternal perceptions rather than the reverse. The possibility remains, however, that the relationship operates in both directions, with the net effect varying as a function of the context. As we shall see, some evidence from subsequent analyses supports this reciprocal interpretation. But first we must take note of a second trend in the data of Table 3.3, which may be discerned from examining the differences among correlations for equalitarian versus mother-directed activity with the child. Specifically, in the case of non-ethnic girls, it is only a balanced relationship that predicts a more positive view whereas, for ethnic boys, the use of power is even more strongly associated with a favorable picture, especially if the mother is not working. By contrast, in the remaining three groups, maternal control is either ineffectual or, in some instances (daughters in ethnic families in which the mother works, sons of non-ethnic mothers) perhaps even counterproductive. The possible significance of this pattern begins to emerge when one takes into account differences in family roles and ideology typically associated with ethnic versus non-ethnic families. Thus, compared to other groups, ethnic families are more likely to be traditional in authority structure and value orientation, with the father being accorded higher status than the mother, the son occupying a more favored position than the daughter, and the mother less likely to be working out of the home.[6] It is precisely in this situation that mother-directed joint activity predicts a more positive picture for boys, but proves ineffectual, or even counterproductive, with girls. Indeed, there is no group in which the exercise of power by the mother leads to a favorable result with daughters. Equalitarian interaction, however, does exert some positive influence with girls and has its maximal impact in a situation that seems the most favorable to the status of both mother and daughter; namely, in a non-ethnic family in which the mother works. Such a family is less likely to be traditional in its values, or mode of operation; in addition, the fact that the mother is employed affords her an independent status outside the home.

The foregoing interpretation, and the results on which it is based, echo specific formulations and findings derived from an "optimal level model of parent-child relationships in a social context" (Bronfenbrenner, 1963). Thus the original application of the paradigm to data relating parental activity to characteristics of the child had revealed a curvilinear relationship that reached its turning point sooner for girls than for boys.

> Girls were especially susceptible to the detrimental influence of overprotection; boys to the ill effects of insufficient discipline and support. Or, to put it in more colloquial terms: boys suffered from too little training, girls from too much. (Bronfenbrenner, 1961a, p. 77).

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[6] The last tendency is reflected in our own sample. Among ethnic two-parent families (N=67) the proportion of working mothers was 39% compared to 45% for non-ethnic families (N=88).

The original study also yielded data in support of a corollary principle stipulating that the curvilinear relationship was differentiated not only by sex of child, but also by sex of parent: "The results reveal a tendency for each parent to be somewhat more active, firm, and demanding with a child of the same sex, more lenient and indulgent with a child of the opposite sex." (Bronfenbrenner 1961b, p. 249).

The findings of the present study suggest that twenty years later, these generalizations may still be valid, but only in ethnic families. In non-ethnic families, the pattern now appears to be reversed, with boys being more vulnerable to the counterproductive effect of maternal power. This possible effect takes on significance in the light of an earlier extension of the optimal level principle beyond the family to the external environment. In the original studies, the paradigm was also applied across social contexts by hypothesizing that critical levels of parental power were likely to be reached sooner in social groups or sub-cultures in which the child was placed in a more subordinate position (Bronfenbrenner 1961a, 1961b). To investigate the hypothesis, the investigator compared the relation between parental power and child behavior in lower and upper middle-class families. In accord with the prediction, the tendency of each parent to exercise more authority with the child of the same sex was more pronounced in lower middle-class homes, and the point of diminishing returns for the use of parental power was reached sooner in that group; "in upper middle-class, however, where sex differences are less pronounced, the pattern of relationships becomes more confused and attenuated" (op.cit., p. 104).

Our own findings on ethnic families today are consistent with those reported twenty years ago for lower middle-class households. The current data for non-ethnic families, however, do not resemble those for the upper middle-class in the earlier period. The results are neither "confused and attenuated," nor are the sex differences "less pronounced." As subsequent analyses will continue to show, in today's "mainstream," non-ethnic families it is the girl who is the focus of the mother's successful socialization efforts. In addition, the correlations in Table 3.3 suggest that within this group, it is the son rather than the daughter who is vulnerable to the disruptive effects of excessive maternal power.

At this juncture, an important disclaimer and caveat are in order. Although the results reported above are consistent with an optimal level model of socialization in context, it is not the case that the particular findings were predicted in advance. Quite the contrary, as previously indicated, our original research design did not include ethnicity as a basic category of analysis. The decision to make it so emerged only later on, mainly as an extension to Professor Cross's emphasis on the importance of this factor as a key context and differentiator of socialization processes and outcomes. Despite their serendipity -- or perhaps all the more because of it -- the present findings lend support to the original formulations and suggest an additional corollary that can be used as a framework for evaluating the results of subsequent analyses: Parent-child interaction is most likely to produce desired results when it occurs in a context that accords status and value to the roles of both participants, as defined by such characteristics as sex, ethnicity, occupational status, and other social structural variables salient for the particular culture or subculture.

The caveat pertains to our present findings. The results and analyses reported thus far by no means constitute strong evidence in support of the optimal level model either in its intrafamilial or extrafamilial form, since the material presented has several shortcomings. First, the intrafamilial data have been analyzed solely in terms of linear regression, whereas a specific test of a curvilinear relationship requires the introduction of a quadratic term in the equation. We shall incorporate this refinement in some of our subsequent analyses. Second, and more critical, interpretations of complex higher-order interactions are unavoidably speculative. As a result, the conclusions must remain tentative and subject to corroboration or contradiction by additional findings.

The Demography of Maternal Activities

The above caveat applies not only to inferences about the differential effectiveness of maternal power in different family groups but also to our broader generalization regarding the special position of sons and daughters in ethnic versus non-ethnic families. Additional evidence bearing on both issues is provided by an examination of demographic differences in mothers' activities.

To address the more general issue first, if it is correct that mothers in ethnic families focus their child rearing on their sons, whereas mothers from non-ethnic backgrounds concentrate on daughters, then we should expect corresponding differences in the amount of joint parent-child activity reported by ethnic and non-ethnic mothers with children of each sex. Specifically, the highest levels of such activities should be found for ethnic mothers of boys and non-ethnic mothers of girls. The relevant data appear in Table 3.4. Because we are

Table 3.4

Means for Maternal Activity as a Function of Sex of Child, Mother's Ethnicity, and Employment Status[1]

(All White Mothers)

	Joint with Equal Power			Joint: Mother Leading			Unilateral: Mother Leading		
	Boys	Girls	Difference	Boys	Girls	Difference	Boys	Girls	Difference
All Mothers									
Ethnic	6.92	5.36	1.56	1.95	1.18	.77	4.51	4.55	-.04
Non-Ethnic	6.11	7.32	-1.21	1.72	2.46	-.74	3.89	4.23	-.34
Difference	.81	-1.96	$\boxed{2.77*}$	.23	-1.28	$\boxed{1.51*}$[2]	.62	.32	$\boxed{\text{.30 n.s.}}$
Working Mothers Only									
Ethnic	7.32	5.00	2.32	2.49	.75	1.74	3.90	4.47	-.57
Non-Ethnic	5.95	8.70	-2.75	1.81	2.25	-.44	3.18	4.85	-1.67
Difference	1.37	-3.70	$\boxed{5.08*}$	.68	-1.50	$\boxed{\text{2.28 n.s.}}$	.72	-.35	$\boxed{\text{1.10 n.s.}}$
Non-Working Mothers Only									
Ethnic	6.52	5.72	.80	1.40	1.62	-.22	5.12	4.63	.49
Non-Ethnic	6.28	5.94	.34	1.63	2.68	-1.05	4.61	3.62	.99
Difference	.24	-.22	$\boxed{\text{.46 n.s.}}$	-.23	-1.06	$\boxed{\text{.83 n.s.}}$	.51	1.01	$\boxed{\text{-.50 n.s.}}$
Difference of Differences (Three Factor Interaction)			$\boxed{4.62\#}$			$\boxed{\text{1.45 n.s.}}$			$\boxed{\text{1.60 n.s.}}$

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[1] Box identifies mean difference for interaction effect.

$p \leq .10$; * $p \leq .05$; n.s. -- non significant

[2] This interaction occurs only in single-parent families.

dealing with sub-group means rather than correlations, it was possible to include all white families in the analysis, single-parent as well as two-parent. Except in one instance footnoted in the table, reliable main effects or interactions in joint activity associated with family structure were weak, and irrespective of magnitude, none contradicted the interpretations offered below. For that reason, and for simplicity of presentation, the detailed results involving family structure are not included in the table. Main effects for the remaining three factors in the model were invariably qualified by a significant interaction that mirrored the pattern observed in the two preceding analyses; namely, as can be seen from the table, the highest levels of joint activity were reported by ethnic mothers of boys and non-ethnic mothers of girls. This pattern emerged most clearly when the balance of power between mother and child was equal. In situations in which the mother took the lead, the effect was lower and limited to one-parent families. It was absent entirely when the mother omitted any inference to the child's part in the interaction.

Comparison of the corresponding figures for working and non-working mothers again suggests that the pattern is more pronounced when the mother is employed, but, as shown in the last line of the table, this third-order interaction is significant only in the case of Joint Activity with Equal Power. It is especially when they work that ethnic mothers are likely to engage in reciprocal interactions primarily with their sons, and non-ethnic mothers with their daughters, whereas their non-employed counterparts are less discriminating.

Viewed from the perspective of an optimal level model, this pattern of means in Table 3.4 suggests an explanation for the corresponding variation in socialization effectiveness implied by the correlations of Table 3.3. Specifically, mothers' joint activities have impact only if they reach a certain critical level of frequency. This minimal level is achieved or exceeded in some groups, but not in others. In our sample, it was attained by ethnic mothers of boys and non-ethnic mothers of girls -- in particular, those mothers in both groups who were employed. Where joint activity falls short of the critical minimum -- as among ethnic mothers of girls and non-ethnic mothers of boys -- it becomes ineffectual or, if conducted in a directive fashion, even detrimental. To test these interpretations, we reran the regressions between the mother's report of equal joint activity and her favorable description of the child, adding a quadratic term to the equation. In keeping with the foregoing interpretation, the results for the two groups in question revealed significant parabolic effects ($p \leq .01$) in the shape of a J-curve; that is, at the lowest levels of joint activity, the relationship between the two variables was slightly negative, but then became increasingly positive once a critical minimal level was reached.

In sum, the additional data we have examined lend support to two interpretations suggested by the results of earlier analyses. First, joint parent-child activity facilitates the emergence of desired characteristics in the child, but only after the activity attains a critical minimal level of intensity. Second, such activity can be maximally effective only in settings in which the roles of both parties are accorded status and value. This same principle applies with even greater force to the exercise of parental power in the course of interaction. The effects are salutary in contexts in which the child has higher status but can be detrimental when the child's position is insecure, particularly in the case of daughters.

The convergence of evidence from successive analyses reduces, but by no means eliminates, the possibility of Type I error in the interpretation of the results. In addition, the interpretation can be questioned on other grounds. In particular, there is the issue of whether the observed relationships may not be purely perceptual, existing solely within the mind of the respondent. Since both the mother's description of the child and the measures of maternal activity are based on subjective reports, neither index may correspond to any objective reality. The issue cannot be definitively resolved without an independent measure of the mother's actual behavior. Although observational data were collected for a quarter of the sample, a simultaneous breakdown by sex and ethnicity resulted in cell frequencies too small to permit calculation of separate correlations and regression coefficients for each combination of sex and ethnicity. In the absence of direct evidence, the existence of a purely perceptual phenomenon can still be challenged if it is possible to identify some characteristic of the mother independent of her own perceptions that shows the same selective pattern of correlations found for the mother's subjective report of her joint activity with the child. Moreover, if such a pattern were found, it would speak to another issue posed by the present findings. We have found evidence for a psychological process that appears to operate selectively in particular groups defined by the mother's ethnicity and the sex of the child. How general or specific is this phenomenon? Is it restricted to mother-child interaction or do other characteristics of the mother, objective or subjective, exhibit the same selective impact?

One likely candidate for investigating these possibilities is the mother's educational level. Our exploratory analyses had revealed that, although none of the conventional demographic variables showed a strong relationship with the mother's positive description of the child for the sample as a whole, the one that came closest to doing so was the number of years that a mother reported having gone to school. Accordingly, we proceeded to analyze this relationship in the same three-factor model that had been employed for assessing the impact of maternal activities on a mother's approving comments about the child. The results, shown in Table 3.5, reveal that, when the mother's education is treated as the independent variable, the previous pattern emerges with even greater saliency. Once again, the only significant correlations are those for sons of mothers claiming an ethnic identity, and daughters of mothers from a non-ethnic background. To an even greater degree than before, both of these relationships are magnified in families in which the mother works. The test of homogeneity of regression coefficients reveals that both the two-factor interaction (Sex by Ethnicity) and the three-factor (Sex by Ethnicity by Work Status) are highly reliable ($p \leq .01$, and $p \leq .02$ respectively). As with the reports of mother's activity, there are no significant unqualified main effects or other interactions. Moreover, these findings are free from a major ambiguity characterizing the earlier results, since in the case of mother's education, the direction of influence is unequivocal. Thus, the data of Table 3.5 lend further support to our earlier conclusion that in ethnic families the mother is more involved with the son than with the daughter, whereas the reverse is true in families from non-ethnic backgrounds.[7]

Is this selective involvement reflected in the mother's reported behavior or only in the impact of this behavior on the mother's view of the child? The fact that the findings on the impact of mother's education mirror and magnify those previously obtained for her joint activity provides some leverage on

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[7] Additional evidence consistent with this interpretation appears in the results of analyses of variance for birth order and maternal age. For both variables, there was a significant interaction by sex of child and mother's ethnicity. In ethnic families, mothers of sons were younger than mothers of daughters, and boys had fewer older siblings than girls. In non-ethnic families, these relationships were reversed. Mothers of girls were younger, and daughters had fewer older siblings ($p \leq .05$ and .10 respectively). These differences cannot explain the observed correlations between joint activity and the mother's description of the child, since neither birth order nor mother's age was signfiicantly related to maternal evaluations of the child by ethnic mothers of boys or non-ethnic mothers of girls.

Table 3.5

Correlations between Mother's Educational Level and her Approving Comments about the Child

(Two-Parent Families Only; N's in Parentheses)

	Sons		Daughters	
	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic
All Mothers	.35* (35)	.23 (44)	-.23 (31)	.54** (45)
Working Mothers Only	.67** (14)	.13 (20)	-.09 (9)	.72** (20)
Non-Working Mothers Only	.32 (21)	.33 (24)	-.18 (22)	.45* (25)

* $p \leq .05$
**$p \leq .01$

this issue. If mothers from ethnic versus non-ethnic backgrounds in fact treat their sons and daughters differently, then this selective pattern should be evident not only in the correlations between mother's education and her perceptions of the child, but also in the relation between maternal schooling and measures of joint activity. The actual results, however, do not exhibit such a pattern. The regression analysis for the relation of mother's educational level to her report of equally shared activities shows a reliable main effect ($\leq .01$), but no significant, or even near-significant interactions for any of the factors in the model, including sex and ethnicity. The overall relationship was also low in magnitude ($r = .23$). The corresponding correlations for mother-directed and unilateral activities were even lower and likewise failed to exhibit significant interactions. It is clear that mother's educational level influences the mother's positive perceptions of the child much more than her report of interaction with the child. The overall correlation for the former variable was .37**[8] and, as shown in Table 3.5, rose considerably higher for ethnic mothers of boys and non-ethnic mothers of girls, especially when these mothers were in the labor force ($r = .67$ and $.72$ respectively). Indeed, the magnitude of these correlations raises the question of whether the observed relationships are a function of maternal schooling rather than reported mother-child interaction.

Second-Order Effects of Mother's Education.

There are two analytic strategies for dealing with this issue -- one quite familiar, the other rather novel, at least in its application. The standard procedure for examining whether one variable has an effect independent of another is partial correlation or regression. A more demanding criterion imposes the further requirement that each variabl influence the impact of the other over and above any separate influence it may have on its own. In ecological theory, this phenomenon is referred to as a "second-order effect" (Bronfenbrenner 1979). The process may take many forms. For example, criticism by the father may impair the mother's effectiveness in disciplining a son. On the positive side, the fact that a parent and teacher are friends may facilitate the child's learning in school. In the present instance, one could posit a second-order effect of education in the relation between maternal activity and her favorable evaluation of the child; that is, the more schooling a mother has had, the greater will be the impact of shared activity on her positive view of her three-year-old.

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[8] In the rest of this chapter the significance level of correlations will be indicated as follows: $p \leq .01$ will be designated by two asterisks (**), $p \leq .05$ will be designated by one asterisk (*), and $p \leq .10$ by a number sign (#). The reporting of effects reliable at the .10 level appears both justified and necessary in a research that has its primary purpose the discovery of new relationships deserving further study rather than the verification of existing hypotheses.

Bronfenbrenner and his colleagues (Henderson 1977; Bronfenbrenner and Alvarez 1981) have proposed that a second-order effect can be tested through an extension of conventional regression analysis by introducing a product term after each independent variable has been entered into the equation. For example, given as independent variables the mother's shared activity (x_1) and her educational level (x_2), the appropriate regression equation for predicting a positive evaluation of the child (y) becomes

$$y = b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + b_3x_1x_2 + k$$

where k is a constant. The existence of a second-order effect is established if the regression coefficient (b_3) for the multiplicative term ($x_1 \cdot x_2$) is significant over and above the independent contributions of both x_1 and x_2.[9] If the sign of b_3 is positive, then x_1 and x_2 reinforce each other. In our specific case, this would mean that the more education the mother has, the greater the effect of her joint activity on the emergence of positive characteristics in the child. Or, expressing the same relationship in another way, the impact of the mother's education is enhanced to the degree that she engages in reciprocal interaction with the child. If the coefficient of b_3 is negative, this would imply that schooling acts as an inhibiting influence; the better educated mother is less effective in achieving the characteristics she desires in her child.

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[9] The above model assumes that the association of both x_1 and x_2 with y is linear. If one or both relationships are actually curvilinear, then corresponding quadratic terms must also be included in the model and controlled before testing the multiplicative effect. The significant second-order effects reported below override reliable quadratic relationships in those instances in which they appear.

Given our emerging view of the distinctive position of sons and daughters in ethnic versus non-ethnic families, a positive second-order effect should be most likely to emerge for non-ethnic working mothers of girls. This prediction follows from the expectation that these mothers are most likely to see themselves as models for their daughters not only within but also outside the family, where schooling can be an asset. By contrast, in ethnic families, where both mother and daughter occupy subordinate positions, the education of girls is likely to have lower priority, and the second-order effect for girls should be absent or perhaps even negative. With respect to boys, it is more difficult to predict, although multiplicative influences seem unlikely for sons of non-ethnic mothers, a situation in which levels both of joint activity and of its influen on the mother's positive perception were relatively low (cf. Tables 3.3 and 3.4).

To test for the existence of second-order effects, the multiplicative model described above was applied to our data in the usual three-factor design: Ethnicity by Work Status by Sex of Child. As before, the analysis was limited to two-parent families because of low frequencies in the smallest cells for single-parent households.

The results are shown in Table 3.6. The values entered in the first two columns are simple correlations. In the next two columns are the corresponding partial correlations calculated after both x_1 and x_2 had been entered in the

Table 3.6

The Influence of Mother's Education and equal Joint Activity on her Positive Perceptions of the Child
Independent and Second-Order Effects

(Two-Parent Families Only; N's in Parentheses)

	Correlations with Mother's Positive View				Second-Order Effect
	Simple r's		Partial r's		Partial r
	I Joint Activity	II Mother's Education	III Joint Activity	IV Mother's Education	V
Working Mothers					
Ethnic					
Boys (14)	.37	.63**	.46	.67**	-.36
Girls (9)	-.41	.13	-.40	-.09	-.57
Non-Ethnic					
Boys (20)	-.10	.16	-.06	.13	.10
Girls (19)	.51*	.63**	.52*	.65**	.57**
Not-Working Mothers					
Ethnic					
Boys (20)	.19	.27	.28	.32	.40#
Girls (22)	-.17	-.20	-.13	-.18	.33
Non-Ethnic					
Boys (24)	.05	.02	.30	.33	-.35
Girls (25)	.26	.31	.42*	.45*	-.27

$p \leq .10$
* $p \leq .05$
**$p \leq .01$

model. Those in Column III measure the influence of mother's joint activity independent of her educational level; conversely, the coefficients in Column II reflect the impact of education independent of joint activity. It is apparent that, in those groups in which either variable is predictive of the mother's positive evaluation of the child, maternal education is a more powerful influence on the mother's evaluation. At the same time, joint activity retains its importance, particularly in relation to girls. Even though none of the individual partial correlations for joint activity with boys is reliable, the test of homogeneity among partial regression coefficients reveals a significant three-factor interaction reflecting the positive relation, after controlling for education, between the mother's joint activity and her positive view of the child in the two critical groups.

In the final step of the regression, the multiplicative term was entered. The corresponding partial regression coefficient, shown in Column V, indicates the direction, magnitude, and significance level of the second-order effect. It will be observed that the four coefficients in the middle section of the column are all positive in sign, while the pairs at the extremes are negative; in other words, the pattern suggests the existence of an interaction effect involving Ethnicity by Maternal Work Status. A special regression program, designed by C.R. Henderson, permits testing the homogeneity of the partial regression coefficients associated with the second-order effect in terms of the three-way factorial design. Application of the program confirms the existence of a highly significant interaction for Ethnicity by Work Status ($p \leq .01$). It would appear that, for the working mother from a non-ethnic background, the more schooling she has had, the more her joint activity evokes desired characteristics in the child, especially if the child is a girl. Education has a similar reinforcing effect for ethnic mothers, but only if they do not work outside the home. By contrast, maternal schooling seems to undercut or even reverse the positive effects of joint activity among the remaining two groups: ethnic mothers who work, or non-ethnic mothers who stay at home. At a broader level of generalization, this pattern can be seen as additional evidence, now appearing at yet another, more complex level, for our earlier inference that mothers tend to function most effectively when acting in a role consistent with the expectations of their subculture, and that their effectiveness is undermined in a situation in which these expectations are violated. The reliable second-order effect suggests that education increases the mother's sensitivity to attitudes toward maternal work prevailing in her particular subculture. This increased realization of the acceptability or unacceptability of her role in turn affects the mother's functioning as a parent, for better or for worse. It remains to be seen whether this interpretation is sustained or challenged by subsequent findings.

One obviously relevant source for additional evidence bearing on this issue is provided by an analysis of the effects of father's education. To the extent that these effects are mediated through the mother, the results should yield a pattern similar to that obtained for maternal schooling. Any significant deviations from this pattern would represent the influence of father's education per se.

The Impact of Father's Education. Since the data from the interviews with the fathers are still being analyzed, the only available data relate to the influence of father's schooling on the mother's perceptions of the child. Despite the fact that people tend to marry persons of a comparable educational level, the first-order linear effects of father's schooling turn out to be somewhat different from those for mother's schooling. Irrespective of their ethnic background, wives of well-educated husbands describe their children more positively, but only when the mother is working and the child is a boy ($r = .52^{**}$). For all other groups, the correlations were extremely low (below .14). It would appear that the involvement of the mother in a job outside the home increases the influence of the father's education, but only in relation to sons. The finding is also of methodological significance since it provides additional evidence that the mother's positive descriptions of the child are not purely subjective in origin but are related to objective circumstances in the family's life.

The second-order effect of father's education, however, is virtually identical with that of mother's schooling; the profile of partial correlations is the same as that appearing in Column V of Table 3.6, although the coefficients are generally lower. The reduction is to be expected since in this instance we deal with the impact on the mother's functioning of someone else's education rather than her own. The implication of the findings, however, is still the same: namely, mothers function more effectively when their parental and occupational roles are consonant with the expectations of their particular subculture.

The Impact of Conventional Demographic Variables on Socialization Processes. The question arises whether other demographic factors besides parental education exhibit similarly differential effects. We pursued this issue by analyzing four additional variables typically taken into account in research on socialization: family income, family size, child's age, and mother's age.

Although the results of these analyses revealed a number of significant effects, these were generally low in magnitude and invariably qualified by the mother's ethnic background, and often by her work status as well. For example, total income showed a reliable effect only in families not claiming an ethnic identity. For this group, a lower income was associated with fewer reports of joint activity or of favorable comments about the child. Although these relationships were statistically reliable ($p \leq .05$), they were quite meager in size ($r = .25$ and .24 respectively). The corresponding coefficients in ethnic families were essentially zero, another example of the lower susceptibility of ethnic families to external influences, whether disruptive or benign.[10]

The total number of children in the family had no significant relation to the mother's positive description of her three-year-old. We hypothesized, however, that a more critical factor would be the presence of younger siblings, who, being under three years of age, would place heavier demands on the mother's time and energy. When this variable was entered into the regression equation, the results confirmed the expectation on all-too-familiar, delimited grounds. The presence of younger children led to a less favorable description of the three-year-old, but only on the part of ethnic mothers of boys and non-ethnic mothers of girls. There were no significant relations for other groups, nor were there any reliable second-order effects.

Maternal age turned out to be a critical factor only if the mother was employed. Under these circumstances, the frequency of reported joint activity was lower for older mothers ($r = -.30$). While the age of the working mother did not reliably predict her evaluation of the child, there was a significant second-order effect. Older working mothers' joint activities were not as likely to result in desired qualities in the child ($p \leq .03$).

Finally, despite the limited age range of the children in our sample (2 1/2 - 4 1/2 years), a similar second-order effect was obtained with respect to the influence of the child's age on the power of maternal interaction to induce desired characteristics in the child. If the mother worked, the older the child the weaker the relationship between joint activity and the perception of positive qualities ($p \leq .05$). No such effect was found for mothers who were not in the labor force.

While the above relationships are not without scientific interest, their low magnitude suggests that these conventional demographic variables have only limited importance in affecting the course and consequence of mother-child interaction in two-parent families. From an ecological perspective, the most relevant factors should be those that take into account how family members perceive the objective circumstances in which they live. Accordingly, we turn next to an analysis of the mother's subjective reports of significant aspects of her life, beginning with evaluations of herself and her spouse as a parent.

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[10] As will be reported in a separate document, income plays a more critical role in single-parent families, where limited financial resources are generally associated with reduced mother-child interaction and a more negative picture of the child.

Perceptions of Self and Spouse: Direct and Indirect Effects. The open-ended responses obtained in our interviews were used as a basis for constructing not only a measure of the mother's favorable comments about her child, but also about herself and her husband in their roles as parents. How do these additional measures relate to the mother's report of her joint activities and her description of her three-year-old? The two indices yielded compatible, but at the same time somewhat different results. Regression analyses of the relation of mother's self-esteem as a parent to her joint activity and her description of the child revealed only simple main effects of low magnitude. Mothers who painted positive pictures of themselves reported more interaction with their children (r = .19*) and described them in more favorable terms (r = .29**). There was no variation in these relationships either by ethnicity, work status, or sex of child. By contrast, the mother's evaulation of her spouse as a parent exhibited stronger and more differentiated patterns along now familiar lines. Significant correlations between positive evaluations of father and child were found only for ethnic mothers of boys (r = .41**) and non-ethnic mothers of girls (r = .37*), and not for other combinations. In addition, women who praised their husbands as parents were more likely to report engaging in activity with their children, but this phenomenon was restricted to working mothers from non-ethnic backgrounds (r = .33*) and to ethnic mothers who remained at home (r = .48**). This finding lends additional support to the thesis of greater effectiveness of socialization in value-consonant contexts.

Finally, a more positive evaluation of the spouse produced a second-order effect, but only for employed mothers. Working mothers who described their husbands as good parents were more likely to obtain desired results from joint activity with their children (p for second-order effect $\leq .01$). A similar reinforcing influence appeared for maternal self-esteem, but it was limited only to daughters of employed non-ethnic mothers ($p \leq .01$). Taken as a whole, the pattern suggests that the perceived role of the father is of special significance in enabling working mothers to achieve their child rearing goals. Moreover, the fact that, at least in our data, the husband plays a significant facilitating role only in families in which the mother works may help explain our initial finding that employed mothers describe their children more positively than do mothers who remain at home; the latter are not as likely to have the benefit of a boost from their husband in their child rearing efforts. At a more general level, seeing one's husband as a good parent seems to enable the working mother to engage in more effective interaction with her children irrespective of family background and sex of child, since the facilitating impact of the father's role in two-wage-earner families was not restricted by these demographic factors. In short, participation by the father in child rearing appears to break down preferential treatment of daughters or sons associated with ethnic versus non-ethnic status.

The First- and Second-Order Effects of Extrafamilial Influences

In the preceding analyses, the frequent statistical interactions involving mother's work status point to the area of parental employment as especially significant for family functioning. Accordingly, in examining the impact of extrafamilial influences, we turn first to effects associated with conditions at work.

The Impact of Mother's Working Hours. The number of hours the mother works significantly affects how positively she views her child, but the direction of the relationship is different for daughters and sons -- positive but non-significant for the former, negative and highly reliable for the latter (r = -.51**). In short, the more hours the mother works, the less positive is her view of her son. The relationship is strongest for working mothers from non-ethnic backgrounds (r = -.61**), but is substantial for ethnic working mothers as well (r = -.52*). Furthermore, a breakdown of the mother's comments by category reveals that the effect applies specifically to the mother's evlauation of the child's cognitive competence, with the children of non-ethnic mothers being most affected. Among mothers in this group, those who work the most hours are least likely to comment favorably on their son's intellectual abilities (r = -.44*), whereas those who have daughters praise them for their cognitive and language skills (r = -.55**). The finding takes on special significance in view of results from a number of studies indicating that sons of working mothers tend to do less well in school than their counterparts from families in which the mother remains at home (Bronfenbrenner and Crouter 1981).

A factor possibly contributing to this phenomenon is suggested by the analysis of second-order effects associated with mother's working hours. The results mirror those reported above for the mother's evaluation of the child's cognitive competence. Once again, the significant trends are limited to non-ethnic families and indicate that increase in mother's working hours facilitates socialization processes for daughters, but impairs them for sons. Specifically, the more hours the mother works, the more her joint activity is associated with the attrubution of more positive characteristics to the daughter ($p \leq .10$), but fewer desirable qualities to the son ($p \leq .01$).

Effects of Maternal Reactions to Employment. From an ecological perspective, it is important to examine the impact of the mother's job not only in terms of its objective features, but also in the way in which she perceives her work situation. From the content analysis of interview protocols, two global measures were constructed. The first was based on the frequency and intensity of positive statements about the mother's work situation, the second was an analogous index founded on negative comments. Preliminary analyses indicated that both variables had construct validity but tapped somewhat different dimensions. This fact was reflected by their low intercorrelations, positive in some social groups, negative in others.

Of the two measures, only the second showed a significant correlation with mother's favorable comments about the child. The relationship appeared solely for girls. Specifically, the greater the mother's discontent about her job, the fewer positive comments she made about her daughter ($r = -.30^{**}$). Dissatisfaction with the work situation also produced a significant second-order effect, but, in accord with previous findings, this special vulnerability was limited to non-ethnic mothers. For this group. the more the mother disliked her job, the lower the relationship between her joint activity and her perception of desirable characteristics in her daughter ($p \leq .05$).

Although a supportive environment at work did not directly affect the mother's general evaluation of the child, it did exert an indirect influence, again only in non-ethnic families. The more the mothers in this group liked their jobs, the more their joint activity increased desired qualities in the daughter, but decreased them in the son. The same second-order effect appeared with specific reference to the child's cognitive skills; that is, job satisfaction strengthened the association between joint activity and recognition of talent in girls ($p \leq .05$), but weakened it in boys ($p \leq .10$).

Despite the complexity of these interaction effects, the picture that emerges is one that is clear and consistent. As with other extrafamilial influences, the mother's experience at work is more likely to affect her family life if she comes from a non-ethnic rather than from an ethnic background. Satisfaction with the job leads to desired consequences for daughters, but not for sons. But if the mother dislikes her work, it is especially the daughter who emerges in the less favorable light, both as a direct and indirect result of the mother's unhappy work experience. Taken as a whole, the findings add weight to our earlier interpretation that the mother in the non-ethnic family is more likely to identify herself both with her job and with her daughter, and to focus less attention on her son.

Effects of Father's Work. The only data that have been analyzed in this sphere concern the father's working hours and the mother's favorable and unfavorable comments about her husband's job. There were no significant effects for paternal working hours, possibly because of the restricted range in this variable. The mother's feelings about her husband's work situation, whether they were positive or negative, also showed no direct relation to her description of the child, but they appeared to be quite influential in other ways. First, the evidence suggests that when mothers perceive their husband's work situation as stressful, they may compensate by engaging in more joint activity with the child, but only if the mother works, or comes from an ethnic background. By contrast, for non-ethnic mothers who remain at home, the relationship is negative; the more critical the mother is of the father's job, the less the mother interacts with the child. Although the individual correlations are not significant, the corresponding regressions of coefficients show a reliable interaction ($p \leq .05$).

This compensatory pattern becomes more pronounced and more differentiated at the level of second-order effects. It would appear that some of the mothers who compensate are rewarded for their efforts, but on a selective basis. Specifically, working mothers who perceive their husband's jobs as stressful receive a return for their increased interaction in seeing more desired characteristics in their children provided (should one say "of course"?) the child is a boy in an ethnic family or a girl from a non-ethnic home (p for second-order effect $\leq .02$).

The second-order effects are complementary and even more powerful for mothers who view their husband's work in positive terms. The more favorably the mother described her husband's work situation, the stronger was the relation between her joint activity and the perception of desired qualities in the child. But again this phenomenon was limited to the ethnic mothers of boys and non-ethnic mothers of girls ($r = .41^{**}$ in both instances). The correlations in the remaining two groups were low and non-significant. Moreover, as revealed by a reliable three-factor interaction ($p \leq .05$), this pattern was considerably accentuated when the mother worked. The two coefficients cited above rose to $.57^{*}$ and $.65^{**}$ respectively, whereas the relationships in the remaining two groups became negative, falling just short of statistical significance (-.42 and -.45). In other words, seeing the husband's job as supportive made the biggest difference to mothers who worked. Under these circumstances, their interactions with their three-year-olds were more likely to produce desired outcomes, but only in accord with the sex preference apparently dictated by the values associated with their ethnic status. The fact that this selective pattern emerged only as a second-order effect and was not present in simple linear correlations testifies to the importance of indirect influences of the external environment on the capacity of the family to function effectively in its child rearing role.

Priorities for Further Analysis

The nature and complexity of findings yielded by the analysis of only a portion, albeit a substantial one, of the data available from the baseline assessment poses a challenge for the immediate future. With limited resources, there is no way in which we can carry out all the additional analyses that seem to be strongly indicated. Instead, we are faced with the necessity of confining our efforts to a few, potentially most productive lines of inquiry. In making this difficult choice, we have been guided by two kinds of considerations; the first methodological, the second substantive.

From a long-range perspective, perhaps the most important outcome of the first stage of this research has been the development of an analytic model and technique for assessing the second-order effects of environmental influences on socialization processes. Therefore, whatever substantive issues we pursue, we shall be employing this two-level strategy for detecting first- and second-order relationships.

To what data should the model be applied? In our view, we should sacrifice full exploitation of particular sources and domains (for example, further analyses of mothers' descriptions of their children, or of their work situation) in favor of less complete examination of data from different perspectives in a variety of domains. To achieve the necessary parsimony, the criterion for selection in these spheres should be relevance to the areas most likely to be affected by the experimental programs.

Application of these criteria leads us to the following priorities in further analysis of the baseline data:

1. Second-Order Effects of Social Networks. The social network analyses described in Chapter 7 of this report were carried out before the regression model for testing multiplicative effects had been fully developed. Both on theoretical grounds, and in the light of findings with data from other instruments, it appears likely that social networks exert their impact on child development primarily indirectly through their effects on the parent rather than directly on the child.

2. The Second-Order Effects of Neighborhood Characteristics. The use of a sampling procedure in terms of neighborhoods as well as individual families places us in a unique position for assessing the influence of the neighborhood as an ecological context for family functioning and its effects on the child. For this reason, we have deferred the analysis of parents' descriptions of the neighborhood, and associated characteristics, in order to evaluate the direct and indirect effects associated with neighborhoods as total systems. Such an analysis requires a modification of our present procedure to include neighborhood as an additional factor in the regression model. The mothers' descriptions of sources of stress and support in the neighborhood, including neighbors and friends, are prime candidates for analyses of this kind.

3. The Ecology of the Family from the Perspective of the Father. Since not all fathers were willing to be interviewed, in order to maximize sample size

we carried out our initial analyses solely on interviews with mothers. The critical role played by the father emerging from these interviews underscores the importance of now analyzing in analogous fashion the corresponding data from interviews with fathers. Of particular interest in this regard is the question of whether the fathers' perceptions will exhibit a preferential pattern by sex and ethnicity resembling that found in the mothers' data.

4. Second-Order Influences on Single-Parent Families. Our deliberate oversampling of single-parent households makes it possible for us to examine systematically the ecology of this growing type of structure in American society. Moreover, our preliminary results suggest that in families of this kind the supportive role that would otherwise be played by a spouse is exercised by participants in informal social networks. Hence, this priority builds on that already highlighted in our first recommendation for further analyses.

The designation of these four areas for priority does not exclude following up other leads that may emerge upon further examination of and reflection on the unanticipated results reported in this document. In a voyage of discovery one must always be ready to pursue an unexpected course to a previously unforeseen destination.

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CHAPTER 4

PARENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE EXTERNAL WORLD

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In this chapter, we examine the mothers' perceptions of some influential areas that are outside the immediate family but important to family members' daily lives.. These areas include the mothers' positive and negative statements about the family's neighborhood and housing, finances, and work. The specific variables considered include: all external factors; perceptions of the future; evaluations of time and schedule; the neighborhood, and perceptions of its safety, social relations, and people; the family's housing circumstances; perceptions of the family's financial situation; and the mother's work situation, including her perceptions of work-related finances, her intrinsic satisfaction with work, and her role as homemaker. In two-parent families, the husband's work situation overall and specific aspects of it, including work finances, non-time aspects of work, and work hours, are examined.

The results of this chapter are based on statistical models that include as classification factors: maternal work status (employed versus non-employed), family structure (single versus married), mother's ethnicity (ethnic versus non-ethnic), and the sex of the target child.

Analyses of variance and covariance were carried out, and regressions of these external variables on continuous demographic variables (such as family size and mother's education) were compared for the groups defined by levels of the classification factors. In the final section, neighborhood ethnicity is examined as an additional classification factor. All of the results presented below are statistically significant at or below the .10 level. We offer some tentative interpretations of the group differences here; more definitive interpretations will evolve as the analyses continue.

Some General Trends

Looking first at the general external variables, we see a pattern that also emerges for many of the more specific variables. All external factors, the non-familial world taken as a whole, are perceived more positively by ethnic than non-ethnic mothers. Further, ethnic single mothers have an especially positive outlook. The examination of negative statements made about external influences illustrates a second important pattern: the mothers of sons perceive greater problems with the external world than do those whose target child is a daughter.

Finally, the results frequently show interactions among ethnicity, marital status, sex of the target child, and maternal work status. In the case of negative perceptions of all external factors, for example, the highest stress reported by any group is that by ethnic mothers of boys who are both single and employed, while the lowest stress is reported by mothers in the same group (single, ethnic, employed) who have three-year-old daughters. Perhaps this is an indication that single mothers feel less comfortable socializing sons than daughters. This sex difference is substantiated in the interaction between maternal hours of work, ethnicity, and the child's sex. The more hours ethnic mothers work, the more negative statements are made by mothers of sons, and the fewer by mothers of daughters. For non-ethnics, there is a similar trend in relation to daughters, but no significant relation in the case of sons. If the above speculation that single mothers feel less comfortable with the socialization of their sons is correct, perhaps this is heightened when a mother works and has less time with her son. A similar interpretation is plausible in two-parent families as well.

The demographic variables, number of children in the family and years of father's education, were significantly related to negative perceptions of all external factors. The previously mentioned differences according to the target child's sex are accentuated when there are more children in the family; the greater number of children, the more negative statements about the external world the mothers of three-year-old boys make. Scrutiny of the relationship among family structure, father's education, and negative perceptions of the external world shows that in two-parent families, the greater the father's years of education, the fewer the mother's negative statements about the world outside the immediate family. This relationship is particularly strong in the case of ethnic mothers who have a three-year-old daughter and are not employed.

The previous chapter discussed numerous interactions of sex of child by maternal ethnicity, in relation to the mother's perceptions of internal domains. While less frequent, these interactions are evident for the external domains as well. The future is seen more positively by non-ethnic mothers of girls and ethnic mothers of boys than by non-ethnic mothers of boys or ethnic mothers of girls. This holds for both single and married mothers, with the exception that single, ethnic mothers of girls are more positive than their counterparts who have boys. This result is a reflection of the overall more positive view of the future these mothers have for girls than for boys, with the single exception of the ethnic mothers in two-parent families.

The Neighborhood and Housing

The general tendency for ethnic mothers to have a more positive view of the outside world is seen specifically in their perceptions of the Syracuse neighborhoods in which they live. The ethnic mothers in the sample see their neighborhood overall more positively than do the non-ethnic mothers. Over half of these ethnic mothers live in predominantly ethnic neighborhoods, which are classified as moderate- and middle-income, where, as Chapter 6 shows, the parents tend to feel more positive about their surroundings and their impact on the family. For example, the majority of parents in Schiller-Wadsworth and Tipperary Hill, Italian and Irish neighborhoods respectively, described their areas as safe, stable, and as positive and supportive environments for child rearing. Further, the picture of the area's social ecology that emerges from the parents' descriptions of these neighborhoods is one in which adults watch out for one another's children, and the children are seen as desirable playmates for one another. A few of the families also mention the desirability and support of living in an area where people share common values. These characteristics of ethnic neighborhoods may help to explain why at least those ethnic families who live in ethnic neighborhoods see their areas in such positive terms. The data also show that married and non-employed ethnic mothers are especially positive about their neighborhoods, perhaps due to the fact that they are able to spend much of their time there and can help to shape a favorable neighborhood ecology.

The other neighborhood variables suggest that neighborhood location may be particularly important to ethnic single parents. People in the neighborhood are seen more positively by ethnic single mothers than by their non-ethnic counterparts. The single ethnic mothers of sons are especially positive, and it is interesting to note that more than half of these women (six of ten) live in neighborhoods that are primarily ethnic in composition. Perhaps these neighborhoods offer support and reinforcement for certain values and, as such, assist the mothers in the socialization of their sons. Neighborhood social relations are viewed more positively by ethnic working mothers than by non-ethnics, especially by those who are single; the results on neighborhood safety show a similar, but more general, pattern in that ethnic mothers have a significantly more positive view than other groups. Single mothers also have generally positive views.

Negative views of the neighborhood appear to be more affected by the child's sex than by ethnicity. The general trend of greater extra-familial stress reported by mothers of sons than of daughters is upheld in the case of the two variables exhibiting statistically significant differences. Specifically, in discussing the neighborhood overall, mothers of boys report more negative comments or stress than do mothers of girls. This is particularly true in the case of single mothers. Neighborhood social relations are seen as more stressful by single mothers of sons than by single mothers of daughters. The pattern reverses weakly, for married women. It is at least plausible that sex differences in the territorial range of boys and girls, and maternal worry about sons getting into fights or involved with older boys who are a bad example, account in part for these differential negative perceptions of the neighborhood. Additionally, mothers may feel that they can socialize girls, but that this is more difficult in the case of boys.

The results of the analyses of maternal perceptions of their housing are, in general, consistent with the pattern found for neighborhood. Ethnic mothers have a more positive view of their housing conditions than do non-ethnic ones, and single mothers are more positive than married ones. Single mothers whose target child is a son report more negative views of their housing situation than do their single counterparts with daughters or the married mothers in the sample. Perhaps this is because boys are felt to be more active and to require more space, which is more likely to be at a premium or nonexistent for single mothers. These women are more likely to live in apartments instead of houses with yards, and to lack the financial resources for larger quarters. To explore such interpretations further, in the next section we examine the relationship between demographic factors such as income, education, and the number of children in the family, and maternal perceptions of neighborhoods and housing. As throughout this report, these relations are estimated and compared for the groups defined by ethnicity, marital status, and sex of child.

In general, more family income results in fewer negative statements about the neighborhood. The relationship is especially strong for two-parent families (although it should be noted that the income range is also greater for two-parent families). Presumably this is because more income enables families to locate in more favorable immediate surroundings. Income does not bear the same relationship to positive perceptions of the neighborhood, however. In this case, increases in family income only affect the view of ethnic single mothers: if the target child is a boy, more income leads to a less positive view, and if she is a girl, the reverse occurs. It is at present unclear why this relationship exists.

The relationship between parent's education and the mother's perceptions of the neighborhood is largely positive. The more education the father has, the more positive and the fewer negative statements his wife makes about their neighborhood in general. This is especially true of non-working, non-ethnic housewives. Married mothers also have more positive veiws of neighborhood people and social relationships the more education their husbands have.

As in the case of father's education, more years of maternal education are related to more positive perceptions of neighborhood people, except for single mothers whose target child is a daughter. The effect of maternal education is more limited: more education reduces the negative statements only of non-ethnic mothers. Even in the non-ethnic group, single mothers with daughters do not show this effect. It is unclear why education reduces the negative perceptions of non-ethnics but not ethnic mothers. In the case of both fathers and mothers, more education results in a more negative maternal perception of neighborhood safety, particularly where the mother is employed.

Family size, logically enough, appears most strongly related to maternal perceptions of the housing situation. The recurrent interaction of sex of child and ethnicity, seen in many other places in this report, also holds here: a larger number of children in the family leads to a less positive view of housing by non-ethnic mothers of girls and ethnic mothers of boys. These two groups have, on average, fewer children in the family than the two others. Negative views or stress related to housing follows a similar pattern. In particular, a larger number of older children results in more negative views by mothers of non-ethnic girls and ethnic boys and a more positive view for their two counterpart groups. As the target child gets older, we find that concern about housing increases somewhat in two-parent families, perhaps because older children require more space and because, in some cases, it is necessary but increasingly difficult for growing children to share bedrooms. In contrast, concern decreases for single mothers, but only in the cases of non-ethnic girls and ethnic boys.

The relationship between the mothers' perceptions of the neighborhood and the target child's age is different from that for housing, in that increased age contributes to positive perceptions. Across all groups, the older the target child, the more positive the mother's view of the neighborhood, especially for non-ethnic single mothers of girls and for ethnic boys. Looking at specific neighborhood variables, the now familiar interaction of sex of child and ethnicity reappears. The older the target child, the more positive statements about neighborhood people were made by married ethnic mothers with daughters. Increases in the target child's age had the opposite effect in the case of married non-ethnic mothers of sons: the older the target child, the fewer the positive statements about neighborhood people. This trend continues with maternal perceptions of neighborhood social relations. Specifically, in two-parent families, as the target child's age increases, social relations are seen more positively by non-ethnic mothers of boys and ethnic mothers of girls, and less positively by non-ethnic mothers of girls and ethnic mothers of sons. In light of the previous chapter, perhaps this pattern of results on people-oriented neighborhood variables indicates that these two groups of mothers are more critical and demanding of their children's immediate interpersonal environment as their children grow older.

Family Finances

As analyses of the Michigan Panel Study data have shown, family financial status is very much affected by family composition and family employment. The results reported below show, as one would expect, that marital status is related to mothers' perceptions of their financial situation in predictable ways. Maternal work status is important for some but not all groups, and the child's sex is even less frequently significantly related to perceptions of family finances. The analysis does show that ehtnicity, a factor not mentioned often in other studies, plays an important role in maternal perceptions of finances.

Turning to the data, we find, as expected, that single mothers, overall, are under greater financial stress than married ones. Ethnic status is related to financial stress in the following ways for the sample's white single parents. Single non-ethnic mothers are on the average under the greatest stress, regardless of their work status or the target child's sex. The financial perceptions of single ethnic mothers show a particularly varied pattern by maternal work status and the child's sex: non-working mothers of girls and working mothers of boys report the greatest stress of any groups in the sample, while non-working mothers of boys and working mothers of girls report the least stress of any of the groups.

Among married women, work status of ethnics makes a difference in their perception of the family's financial situation. Those who are employed make fewer negative statements, regardless of the sex of the target child. In contrast, the sex of the child appears to be an important factor for non-ethnic mothers. These mothers make more negative statements about family finances when the target child is a son than a daughter, irrespective of their work status.

The examination of positive statements about family finances shows differences by ethnicity. Ethnic single and married mothers express more positive views than their non-ethnic counterparts. It is interesting to note that the single mothers are more positive than the married mothers, in both the ethnic and non-ethnic groups. Thus finances appear to be a particularly salient issue in the lives of single mothers, who have much to say -- both positive and negative-- about it.

Examination of the relationship between maternal financial perceptions and the demographic variables reveals that these perceptions are related to family income and to the level of parents' education. More income, not surprisingly, reduces financial stress for all groups except non-ethnic, single mothers of girls. In their case, for some as yet unknown reason, the effect is significant in the opposite direction. Although the effect is not strong, more years of maternal education reduces perceptions of financial stress except for the group of single ethnic mothers with a three-year-old son. In this group, more education increases the reported level of financial stress. More years of paternal education also decreases the mother's negative statements about family finances. The latter effect is stronger when the target child is a girl than a boy. Finally for purposes of construct validation, as could be predicted, the more children there are in a family, the more negative statements mothers make about family finances.

As we stated in the introduction to this section, the interactions of ethnicity with marital status and other factors in relation to maternal perceptions of family finances were not anticipated nor are they easily explained. Analyses to explore further the independent and joint effects of ethincity on maternal perceptions are a high priority for future analysis.

Mother's Work

Before examining the mothers' perceptions of their work situation per se, it is illuminating to look at the relationship between the general time and schedule variable and maternal work status. As might be expected, negative and positive statements about time and schedule are each affected by both maternal work and marital status. Specifically, the largest number of positive statements about time and schedule issues is made by married working mothers, and the smallest is made by non-working singles. Perhaps this is because, although they are pressed for time, the working mothers perceive that they have some combination of familial support or scheduling arrangements that help them as they balance work and family roles. At the same time, negative statements are made more often by married than by single mothers, and by workers in comparison to non-workers. Working single mothers express fewer concerns than do non-worker, married mothers. As the next chapter, which concerns working mothers, makes clear, pressures of time and schedule are frequently paramount in two-worker families. The picture that emerges, then, is that married mothers have supports that result in more positive statements about time and schedule, but at the same time they also report more pressures. The presence of the spouse clearly increases the prominence of this issue in the woman's life. The situation is magnified when she works.

Turning to working mothers' perceptions of their overall work situation, the results show that ethnic mothers make more positive statements about working than non-ethnic ones do. This difference is largely due to the now familiar divergent perceptions of ethnic and non-ethnic single mothers.

Ethnic single mothers have a particularly positive view of their work situation, and non-ethnic singles a particularly negative one. This contrast is further magnified when the target child is a girl. The analysis of positive statements about two more specific work-related variables, work finances and intrinsic satisfaction with the job, reveals an interaction between ethnic and marital status. The two groups making the most positive statements are married non-ethnics and single ethnics, and the two with the fewest are married ethnics and single non-ethnics.

More maternal education, perhaps because it leads to better jobs, results in more positive statements about the work situation, especially for the group of ethnic single mothers. The only exception in the sample is the group of non-ethnic single mothers where the relationship between positive perceptions of work and increases in education is reversed. As previous discussions of the neighborhood and family finances showed, this group of single non-ethnic mothers has consistently less positive perceptions of the outside world.

The mothers' feelings about their roles as homemakers, both positive and negative, are stronger for women who are not employed. As the next chapter on women and work suggests, many of the housewives in the sample are simultaneously pleased and frustrated to be at home with a pre-schooler.

These mothers believe it is important that they remain at home and available to their small children, while at the same time they describe feelings of being personally stifled and housebound.

Wives' Perceptions of the Husbands' Work

In their views about their husbands' work as well as about several of the other areas of the external world, ethnic mothers have more positive perceptions than non-ethnic ones. The sex of the target child also influences the mothers' positive statements about their husbands' work; mothers whose target child is a son are more positive than those with daughters, especially if they are not employed themselves. Non-employed ethnic mothers, however, make the largest number of negative statements about their spouses' work situations.

These patterns of more positive statements made by ethnic mothers also hold for two more specific work-related variables, _spouses' work finances_ and _non-time aspects_ of work. The relationships are again especially strong when the target child is a son. Positive attitudes toward the _spouse's work hours_ are also more frequent when the target child is a son. Negative statements about husbands' hours show an interaction with the target child's sex and ethnicity. Negative views are more frequent among the non-ethnic mothers of girls and ethnic mothers of boys. Perhaps this is because these women have higher expectations for the amount of time their husbands will spend with their children. The greatest stress around the father's work hours occurs for the group of non-employed ethnic mothers of girls. In the future, we will examine the relationship between maternal perceptions on such variables and the actual numbers of hours their husbands are employed. Increases in family income decrease negative statements and increase positive ones about the spouse's overall work situation.

Maternal perceptions of the father's work situation are affected by the husband's and their own years of education. In the case of the father's education, the more he has, the fewer negative statements the wife make about his work. Presumably this is in part because more education leads to better-paying jobs. The amount of paternal education is related to positive statements about spouses' work for several groups. The more education the father has, the more positive statements ethnic mothers of three-year-old sons, or those who are not employed, make. In the case of mothers' education, as it increases, so do the positive statements of ethnic mothers of boys. There is an inverse relationship for non-ethnic mothers of sons; as their education increases, they are less positive about their husband's work situation.

The Effect of Neighborhood Ethnicity

Including neighborhoods as a classification factor in our models is a high priority in all future Project analyses. We can predict that it will be particularly significant for perceptions of the neighborhood and for social network variables. As discussed in Chapter 2, the sample design was structured so that neighborhood types -- defined by race/ethnic composition and by income level -- can be included in our models. One may recall from the earlier chapter that Black, mixed, ethnic white, and non-ethnic white are the neighborhood race/ethnic categories.

While most of the analyses of these variables await our future efforts, some early indications of the potential importance of neighborhood ethnicity are given here. Ethnic differences were believed of potential importance as the sampling design was developed, but the strength of these effects seen throughout this report was perhaps unexpected. Therefore, in order to gain additional understanding of these ethnic differences, at least in the external domains, we analyzed some models that included neighborhood ethnicity in addition to mother's ethnicity.

Two models were used as supplements to the basic model that included mother's work status, mother's ethnicity, family structure, and sex of the target child. Not all neighborhood types are as likely to have a given type of family living in them, and not all factors can easily be included simultaneously because of unfilled subclasses. (In later analyses, we will employ some recently developed statistical methods in order to deal partially with this complication.) Therefore, the first of these additional models included a two-level neighborhood ethnicity factor, grouping all other neighborhood types in comparison to the ethnic neighborhoods, as well as mother's ethnicity, family structure, and sex of child. This model allowed a focus on the relative effects of the two ethnic definitions, neighborhood and individual. The second additional model included a three-level neighborhood ethnicity factor (non-ethnic white; ethnic white; and Black/mixed combined), mother's ethnicity, and family structure. Thus, there are six basic groups for both single- and two-parent families: ethnic parents who live in ethnic white, non-ethnic white, or Black/mixed neighborhoods; and non-ethnic parents who live in one of these types of neighborhoods.

The type of neighborhood that the family lives in, and the match or mismatch between individual and neighborhood ethnicity, does indeed make a difference in the mother's perceptions of the external world. On the whole, this variable appears to be at least as important as the mother's own ethnicity. Stress in relation to all external factors is higher for non-ethnic mothers in ethnic neighborhoods and ethnic mothers in non-ethnic neighborhoods than it is for the two groups in which a match of individual and neighborhood ethnicity occurs.

That is, stress is lower when the mother is in matched context and higher when not. Ethnics in ethnic neighborhoods make the fewest negative comments. This interaction of the two kinds of ethnicity holds strongly for single mothers; for married women, only ethnic mothers in ethnic neighborhoods significantly differ from the other three groups, reporting lower stress.

The principle of consonance is readily explained for ethnic neighborhoods where residents may share common values. The phenomenon is less clear for non-ethnic neighborhoods, but it is apparent that they too must share values in common. It is tempting to conclude that the negative attitudes of ethnics living in other neighborhoods are held by those living in mixed and Black areas, which are more likely to be lower in income. However, the ethnics in the non-ethnic white neighborhoods report the highest stress in relation to external factors. (There are only three single mothers in this group, and it is singles for whom the effect especially holds.)

We reported earlier that ethnics make a larger number of positive statements about all external factors than do non-ethnics. Neighborhood ethnicity interacts with family structure and the child's sex, but not with the mother's ethnicity. Married mothers are more positive, for all groups, when living in ethnic neighborhoods. Single mothers show an interaction with sex of child: the most positive views are expressed by mothers of girls in ethnic neighborhoods, the least positive by mothers of boys in those same neighborhoods; mothers with children of either sex in other neighborhoods fall in between.

Looking once again at perceptions of the neighborhood itself, we find that the view of single mothers -- in terms of both positive and negative statements -- again is considerably determined by the neighborhood type. The most positive view is held by non-ethnics in non-ethnic white neighborhoods and ethnics in ethnic neighborhoods; considerably less positive views occur for each individual when living in all other types of neighborhoods. Whether the other type is Black/mixed or white does not affect the result. The same pattern emerges for stress, but now only for single mothers. In two-parent families, there is an effect for stress irrespective of the mother's own ethnicity. Negative attitudes are highest in Black/mixed neighborhoods, which can be explained in part by the average neighborhood income level; lowest stress is in the ethnic white neighborhoods which cannot be as easily explained, since ethnic and non-ethnic white neighborhoods are approximately matched on income.

Financial stress is higher for single than for married women, as we saw earlier, but this effect is not in any part due to families living in ethnic neighborhoods. It appears that living in those neighborhoods mediates the problems of low income for single mothers. By far the highest stress, irrespective of the mother's ethnicity, is expressed by single women living in non-ethnic neighborhoods. This is a relatively small group (eight women), but the trend is strong. Perhaps finances are more of an issue to these single mothers, because of problems with, for example, transportation, accentuated by the more suburban location of these neighborhoods.

Greatest concern about housing conditions is expressed in non-ethnic white neighborhoods, an intermediate amount in Black/mixed, and the lowest in ethnic white. It is primarily the ethnic mothers in non-ethnic neighborhoods who are under stress, although this holds for non-ethnics as well, and the view also is stronger in the case of single mothers. Single mothers make the most positive statements about housing in Black/mixed neighborhoods, and the fewest in non-ethnic white neighborhoods, while married women are also the least positive in non-ethnic white neighborhoods, but are less positive in Black/mixed neighborhoods than in ethnic ones. This result may be due in part to the generally favorable attitude toward certain housing projects in the mixed neighborhoods, as expressed by a number of single women.

By this point, it should be clear that the type of neighborhood the family lives in has a sizeable impact on the mother's perceptions of external factors. A more detailed look at this variable is a high priority for future analyses, along with neighborhood income level, and other characteristics of the neighborhood (e.g., housing density) that can be measured and used in models. Qualitative analysis will use these findings as a starting point for gaining understanding of these ethnic differences. These models will also be used as we continue to examine the effect of the parents' perceptions of external influences on intrafamilial perceptions.

In the next chapter, we explore some of the specific sources of parents' perceptions of the ways in which maternal employment affects both the mother and her family.

CHAPTER 5

WORK

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Introduction

Current studies of work and family relationships, especially those which focus on mothers, tend to focus on the two areas as separate worlds (Kanter, 1977). By extension, policy studies on the topic frequently focus on how the work world can be made to accommodate families. They justifiably explore the benefits of maternity and paternity leaves, flexible hours, corporate day care, job-sharing, greater availability of part-time work and the like (Bronfenbrenner and Weiss, 1981). Concurrently, social historians have been tracing the ways in which families gradually lost control of the pace, content, location, and structure of their work during the process of industrialization (Haraven, 1975; Shorter, 1973). Interviews with parents of pre-school children, however, suggest that there is growing -- if scattered -- evidence that many parents are themselves actively seeking and developing work arrangements which better allow them to be both parents and workers (Weiss and Working Family Project, 1974, Note 1; Weiss and Working Family Project, 1978; Weiss, 1981a, Note 2). Mothers of pre-schoolers are particularly likely to choose the kind of work they do and when and where they do it in an effort to maximize their work and family caring roles. Recent demographic analyses of population trends offer further confirmation; one study, for example, concludes that, "Though fewer mothers are dropping out of the labor force, they continue to adjust their work lives to the demands of home and children" (Masnick and Bane, 1980, pg. 82).

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* The author wishes to acknowledge Nancy Burston, Marguerite Bertrand, and Ann Bell for their assistance with qualitiative coding and interpretation of the data on which this chapter is based. Family names used in this chapter are ficticious.

In this chapter we examine the contours of work and family arrangements as they are perceived by a sample of white married women who are employed about equally in part- and full-time jobs. This initial descriptive analysis of work and family relationships focuses on several issues: the logistics of work and family arrangements in two-earner families, mothers' perceptions of their employment motivations, and their evaluations of the costs and benefits of employment for themselves and their families. The examination of the logistical arrangements shows, that for understanding work and family relationships, the timing and location of work are as important as the hours of work *per se*. The analysis of mother's perceptions of the costs and benefits of work also reveals a set of dilemmas parents face as they attempt to balance their work and family lives.

This chapter is based on initial qualitative analyses of the mothers' stress and support interviews. Four general questions guided the work:

1. Why do these mothers work?
2. What adjustments or arrangements do these families make to balance parenting and employment responsibilities?
3. What do they see to be the costs and benefits of employment for themselves and their families? What dilemmas do they present?

4. What do these mothers feel their husband's attitudes are about their employment and what role do the men play in the household?

While these questions served as guides, qualitative analysis procedures have a developmental quality in that pre-set questions are balanced with others which emerge with the reading and organization of the data. The respondent's definitions of what is important and his or her causal structure are given as careful attention as the analyses, and in fact, the former frequently helps to shape the latter as the analysis proceeds (Weiss, 1981B). The currently reported analyses involved a set of inductive procedures revolving around the search for recurring themes and the substantiation of their importance and extent through comparative analysis of individual cases and the search for negative or disconfirmatory evidence or cases. One looks for recurrent feelings, ideas, and concepts expressed by the respondents and gets a sense of areas where the data are thick or thin, convergent or divergent. In this process the initial analytic categories begin to emerge from the data themselves. The categories are of two sorts: those that come fairly straightforwardly from the respondents themselves and those sometimes higher order abstractions which the analyst derives him or herself (Weiss, 1980, Note 3). The goal of these early analyses is to produce analytic descriptions on which later to build a conceptual framework and higher-order, though carefully grounded, analyses (Piotrkowski, 1979). An example perhaps will make this clearer. In asking the first question, why do these mothers say they work, all data bearing on the issue were assembled. Then the analyst looked at all cases for themes and set them into higher-order categories -- such as financial, personal growth, opportunity to get away from home, etc. For the first analysis, the number of mothers reporting each theme was then totaled, in order to get a sense of the primary motivations and their distribution. These, along with minority or contrary views, were then reported. The next stage involved the search for the cognitive links that the mothers made between their work and family roles. The statement that "getting out to work makes me a more patient parent" is an example of such a link. The nature and distribution of the themes and the linking statements allows one to get a sense of work and family relationships as the mothers see them and to generate initial analyses which are primarily descriptive and grounded in the mother's perceptions. After control of the data has been achieved at this level for both husbands and wives, the analyst proceeds to generate higher-order concepts and to build dynamic theory about work and family relationships. Later analyses will examine the views of housewives about their maternal role and responsibilities, the mother's views of the husband's job and its impact on the family, and husband's perceptions of his own and his wife's work and family roles and activities. The thematic analyses presented here are primarily at the level of analytic description; they provide a sense of how these mothers think about and evaluate work and its impact on their families. Some preliminary analysis of non-employed mothers' perceptions of their roles have also been conducted and the results will be referred to occasionally here when they contrast with the views of the working mothers. The 62 housewives, whose views are decribed here, are a subset of the 91 in the overall sample of non-employed and married white mothers.

This chapter presents the results of the initial analysis of the perceptions of a sample of forty-nine white, married, working mothers. Twenty-six of these women are employed full-time (35 hours or more a week) and twenty-three are employed part-time (less than 35 hours a week). This represents about 80% the white mothers in the sample who were working at least part-time when we visited them in 1978-79. The chapter begins with a discussion of the interconnections between work and child care arrangements and then proceeds to an examination of one of two special categories of worker, women who work at home as day care providers. The second special category, families who arrange the timing of their work so that all child care is done by immediate family members, will be examined at the outset of the two succeeding sections on part- and full-time work outside the home. The final section draws some preliminary conclusions about work and family relationships in two-worker households.

Strategies for Balancing Work, Family and Child Care

Since at least the turn of the century, married women's labor force participation has continued to rise to a point where it is no longer unusual even for mothers of young children to be working (Weiss, 1975, Note 4; Masnick and Bane, 1980). Over this period, women's life course patterns of labor market participation have come to look increasingly like those of men: more and more women enter the workplace in their early twenties and stay there continously through their fifties. Attitudes toward women's roles have also changed, especially within the past twenty years, so that working mothers currently are viewed considerably less negatively than they were a generation ago (Erskine, 1970; Smith, 1979). In 1964, for example, only fifty-four percent of the women surveyed in one study said that a mother who worked could establish a close relationship with her children; by 1971 the figure had increased to seventy-three percent (Mason, Czaika, and Arker, 1976).

These attitudinal and labor force participation changes are evident in the present sample in a variety of ways, with varying consequences for working women and housewives. Preliminary comparison of the responses of these two groups of mothers suggests that defensive feelings about one's work choices have shifted from workers to homemakers. "I think it's important to have a mother around when there is a three-year-old child in the home," one homemaker said, echoing many. She continued, "I don't care what women's lib says, nothing can take the place of mother's love." The responses of the housewives contain more justifications of their work choice than do those of the employed women. The groups are similar, however, in that their work choices are inextricably bound up in and usually described in terms of family considerations. In response to a series of open-ended and semi-structured questions about working and its effects on their families, the working mothers sketch an often complex series of arrangements which, they explain, work reasonably well to accommodate their work and family roles. Surprisingly few of these women speak of guilt feelings about working, although some are dissatisfied with things such as their particular job or child care arrangements. The homemakers also relate their work choice clearly to their family role. They are generally very firm and outspoken about the beneficial effects of being home for their husbands and children, at least "for now." The majority of the housewives do report that they plan to go to work. A few plan to seek employment immediately, and many report that they will work when their children are all in school.

One major facet of the work and family link for the forty-nine working mothers is tied up in the time, timing, and location of work and the relation of these factors to child care. Looking first at mothers who work part-time, Table 5.1 shows that more than half of the women structure their hours or location so that they themselves or immediate household members are responsible for child care while they work. Three mothers achieve this by working at home as day care mothers so that they require no outside care. Eleven other families have organized their hours so that husbands -- and in one case a teenage daughter -- can attend to child care while the mother works. This pattern of work and child care will henceforth be called the serial care arrangement. Three have non-household family members (mothers and aunts) providing care. Only 26% (six) of the part-time workers use non-familial care while they work.

This section of the chapter could appropriately be subtitled "Keeping it in the Family," as the case of the full-time workers, not much different from those who work part-time, indicates. To wit, about a third of the full-time working mothers have serial care arrangements and work hours that allow their husbands to watch the children. Another third either work at home or

Table 5.1

Work and Child Care Arrangements of Part- and Full-Time Working Mothers

	Part-time	Full-time
Work at home	13% (3)	15% (4)
Work at hours that allow immediate family members to do child care (mainly father)	48% (11)	35% (9)
Work daytime hours and have family members outside the household provide care	13% (3)	15% (4)
Work part year and have non-familial child care	4% (1)	0
Work daytime hours and have sitter, friend, neighbor for child care	22% (5)	19% (5)
Work daytime hours and use daycare center or full-time nursery for child care	0	15% (4)
	100 % (23)	99% (26)

have non-household family members caring for their children. Only a third use non-familial care.* It is clear that the majority of these families with working mothers, perhaps not unlike those who choose not to work, do not want "strangers" caring for their children. Those working mothers who explain the rationale for their exclusively familial child care arrangements mention both the benefits of such care for their own peace of mind, for their children's well-being, and frequently for the lower cost of such arrangements.

Home work (N=7) and shift work (N=19)** together account for the work arrangements of about half (53%) of the working mothers in the sample. These two variants are frequent and important enough to deserve special treatment. Therefore the views of the women in each group about the costs and benefits of these two arrangements will be presented separately. Their views about more general issues such as work motivation and husband's household assistance will be included in the general discussion of part- and full-time work. We turn now to the evaluations of the seven women who work for pay at home.

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* Although women in this group are almost evenly split between those in professional and those in service, clerical, and operative occupations, a higher percentage of those in the professional category use non-familial care (four of nine professionals).

* Shift work is defined here as the afternoon, evening, or night shift, or week-end work.

Working at Home

The seven women who work at home as day care mothers have set up a compromise between their need to work and the need to be at home. Two of the women do not even think of themselves as working. Most feel, as one of them put it, that their job "varies from day to day. ...I think generally I like being here at home for now. The main reason is that I want to be here with my three-year-old and take care of him until he goes to school, I don't want someone else taking care of him now." Or as another put it, "It works out well. I sit for the extra money; this way I can make a few extra dollars and still be at home." Several also mentioned that by working at home they do not have to pay for a babysitter or transportation to work so their earnings are "free and clear." Other benefits of caring for children at home include the flexibility of the job; the majority said some variant of the following: "it doesn't interfere with things I want to do ... visiting in the neighborhood or going grocery shopping." Several mothers also mention that they like the nature of what they do, working with children, "especially when I can send them home at night." The benefits described for the three-year-old include having his or her mother at home and other children to play with; as one mother said, "I think the socialization is good for him."

The drawbacks of home work were primarily for the mothers themselves, and these limitations are the result of the hybrid nature of the arrangement. Some of the benefits of leaving the home to work are traded-off for the opportunity to work at home. Although one mother did mention that she met the parents of her charges and got to know them, by and large these women complained of isolation and about the equivocal nature of working at home, where they have only a few of the benefits of employment. There are a number of parallels between the situation of the homeworker and homemaker. Comments such as the following made by a day care mother also were very frequently made by non-employed homemakers: "I have problems sometimes about being at home. I feel I don't do anything, don't contribute. I'm bugged sometimes by not having a career and by other people's stereotypes that I'm just a housewife who sits home and watches soap operas." Just as the non-employed mothers often do, she spends the day at home with small children so "another problem is that I don't have anything to tell my husband when he gets home -- I don't see anyone or do anything. You get to feeling that you're a boring person; I feel this way more than my husband does."

The majority of these day care mothers plan to work outside the home once their children reach school-age and view day care motherhood as a temporary expedient until that point. As a work arrangement, the majority of the mothers were satisfied with the compromise, especially for their children, although they recognized that some social and personal benefits were lost in order for them to be at home.

Perceptions of Parents Working Part-time Outside the Home

The twenty mothers who are employed part-time outside the home, primarily in service and clerical occupations, work an average of 16 hours a week. They range from two mothers who work four and six hours on Sundays as a paid Sunday school teacher and salesclerk, respectively, to three who work twenty-five hours a week as a grade school teacher, night manager at a store and as a night nurse. Two of the mothers work only part of the year for six- and eight-week periods. Half (10) of these mothers have organized their hours so that their husbands do the child care while they work; most of these women work weekends or nights. In one case this pattern is reversed; she works days and her husband works nights.

Serial Care Families

Several of the mothers who have "serial" care arrangements with spouses report that the arrangement has benefits for both adults and children. The mothers are comfortable knowing the children are "well taken care of;" as one put it, "I want to be responsible for my children, to be the one who gives them their values and ideals and their father, of course, is the other person who feels the same way I do and will take good care of them." Half of them also feel that as a result of this arrangement, their husbands have formed closer relationships with the children. "Because of my working and my husband being left with our daughter until the afternoon of each day," said a clerical worker whose husband works nights, "they have become very close. She really knows her dad, which doesn't always happen in families, and I think this is real good." A nurse said her absence an evening a week gives her husband and children "a chance to work on their own relationship...and it also gives him insight into being a lone parent." "She likes being with her father," a woman working several nights in a service job reported, "it's a special treat and they have a ball." There was one father who was described as an exception to this generally positive view. One mother reported that her husband resented the arrangement; she believes he would "put up with me working better, if it didn't interfere with his life." He watches the children two nights a week and Saturdays, and she feels that "he can barely watch the kids and make lunch for them" and further that "he's not as patient as I would like him to be."

The major problem with such serial care arrangements is that they make it difficult, if not impossible, for the couple and the family to spend time together. One night-shift and week-end service manager, for example, noted that her family's biggest problem is "probably that I work at night and we don't get to see each other as often as I'd like and we are very seldom together with the children." Several other mothers mentioned similar problems because, while weekends are family time, they have to work. The serial arrangement then very often involves the trade-off of adult companionship and complete family time for family-produced child care. This theme is an important source of familial stress which later sections will show is even more pronounced in the case of parents maintaining two full-time jobs and performing serial care.

Evaluations of Part-Time Work and Its Effects on the Family

When one examines the data to answer the question of why these mothers work, financial incentives are specified by a large number of women. A service worker, for example, stated that "the only reason I'm doing it is for the money. I don't like to ask for money for things like bingo and cake-decorating. It's mine and I don't have to feel guilty about taking it from the family." Having their own money is important to about a quarter of the mothers. Others work to contribute their earnings to the family and take pride in this; as one mother said, "We need the money and I'm doing my share." Several also noted that their working takes some of the financial pressure off of their husbands.

Rarely are financial incentives the sole reason for working; the mothers mention a variety of other reasons, many of which involve their personal development, need for outside stimulation, and for some time away from their families. In several mother's words:

> -I like the money and the change...working part-time helps me to be more patient with my son when I am with him. (Clerical worker, 8 weeks a year)
>
> -Since we never go out, I felt I needed to get me out of the house. I wanted the stimulation of meeting and relating to new people. (Clerical worker, 20 hours per week)
>
> -I'm glad I'm working, for getting out of the house, stimulation. (Clerical worker, 20 hours per week)
>
> -My working means a lot to me. I'm not interested in a career so long as I have young children at home during the day, but at the same time, I don't want to feel I'm sitting and vegetating until all my girls are in school... Working part-time satisfies my needs real well. (Service worker, 15 hours per week)
>
> -It's very positive in that somehow I feel more worthwhile. (Clerical worker, 20 hours per week).
>
> -It's important for me to get away from the family and be my own person, good for me to get away from the house for awhile. (Service worker, 18 hours a week)

> -I feel free working only one day a week. It's just right. It gives me a chance to keep up on my profession which is important because medicine changes so quickly. (Nurse, 8 hours a week)

An overwhelming theme in the women's evaluation of the benefits of work is the opportunity it offers them to get away from the family and do things on their own. Many feel that this makes them better parents, particularly more patient ones, because work has enabled them to "refuel." Throughout the interviews with both the two-parent white working and non-working mothers, the dilemma of maintaining the self while fulfilling maternal responsibilities occurs. This recurrent dilemma involves questions about how to balance personal needs with two kinds of familial needs: the mother's need to be a good mother and the children's needs for familial care and activity. One of the day care mothers who has just taken a two-day-a-month job outside the home expresses a variant of the dilemma many others also voice.

> I don't want a full-time job while I have children at home. However, by being at home and not working outside , I find it very difficult to make time to do things that are just for myself. It's easy to lose your self while being a housewife and mother. I don't balance well that part of myself I give to others with that part of myself I give to myself. I just started a part-time job...it's an occupation I love and it's important to me to have this involvement which does not include my family. For the most part I want to be home with my children, but I don't want it at the exclusion of everything else.

A salesworker says emphatically that "the time I spend working is time for myself -- it saves my sanity -- it gives balance to my life. ...I like everything about my job !! It's a people job, I get a chance to talk to adults. It saves my sanity."

The majority of these women feel that having some time away from the family ultimately also benefits their families, for as a Sunday school teacher concluded, "It keeps me kind of happy, working part-time. Being home is a positive time. I don't resent it 'cause I get out at least once a week." A part-time teacher said that "I really go crazy being home all day with them, and I find I enjoy being with them a lot more when I get home from work." She, like nearly a third of the other part-time workers, feels that working makes her more patient with her children. This is especially interesting because in response to the request to describe themselves as parents, patience and impatience are the criteria most frequently used by mothers in two-parent families, whether employed or not, to evaluate their parenting. Several mothers also argue that it is beneficial for their children to have time away from them also.

Part-time work also represents problems. While half of the twenty women working outside the home cited no costs or drawbacks to their employment arrangements, half did. One or two mothers specified each of the following work-related problems or stresses: problems with babysitters, too many work hours, low pay, work hours which prevent spending time with one's spouse or whole family, and problems children have adjusting to maternal employment. One of the three nurses working part-time enjoys her work but feels there is "negative carry-over" (Piotrkowski, 1978) from her job to her family. She arrives home tired and has to "wind down."

Three mothers, on balance, preferred not to be employed and described guilt feelings about working. "I find it very hard to have to leave my son," a clerical worker said, "for example, I feel very guilty that I can't be here for him all of the time." She feels that working 20 hours a week makes it hard to get her housework done and "that makes me more short-tempered with the children because I am so pressed for time." She wishes they had more money so that she would not have to work and so that she and her husband "would not have to feel as guilty as we do leaving the kids with sitters." The other two women similarly report feeling guilty about working and leaving their children with others.

A number of these women also describe turmoil over balancing what they feel are their responsibilities to their families and the personal and familial benefits that accrue from part-time work. Several articulate a conflict hinted at by others. "I have mixed feelings on working," a night manager working 25 hours a week said. "I'd hate to quit because I really enjoy getting out on my own...and since I've started working, my husband has accepted a lot more household responsibilities. But on the other hand, it sort of breaks up my day and the way our...schedules work out, my husband and I are seldom with the kids together, as a family." She misses being home at dinnertime and is unable to attend night-time school functions. However, she reasons, she can do a lot with the children during the day so that "the only real trade-off is no time for meetings I'd like to be involved in." In some cases the mother's ambivalence about work is reflective of larger reverberations within the family. The Mineos, an Italian family living in a heavily Italian neighborhood, are a good illustration. They are a family with fairly traditional views about the family and sex roles, who are in the process of adapting to a working wife and mother.

The Mineos

Mrs. Mineo works from 7:30 am to 3:00 pm Saturday and Sunday as a nurse for a temporary nursing agency. She feels her primary role is that of a homemaker; the work role is a distant second, but one which may be enlarged if she has to work full-time for financial reasons. As a homemaker, she reports that "mostly I feel good about being at home during the week. I have my bad days when I don't feel like being a homemaker, mother, anything -- when there's a lot of work to be done, or I'm not feeling well or when it's the same thing over and over again everyday -- boredom repetition." However, she concludes, "I guess really and truly..., when I deal with it honestly, I'd rather be at home than any place else because I can do things at my own pace...." She feels it is best for her children that she's home and her husband shares this opinion. As a part-time worker, she reports that her husband and her four sons do not like her working weekends, but, she continues, "we do need the extra money so it's just something that has to be done and everybody has to accept." She had worked the night shift but this upset her three-year-old son so she switched to weekend days. With respect to her job, she says that "I enjoy getting away from the house, sometimes," although "sometimes I really don't want to but once I get out of the house it's better. It's better for me too, I'm sure." She "likes working in the hospital and ... being a nurse;' however, her job has its ups and downs. "Some days I feel like I'm doing a super terrific job and feel good about helping people and other days I wonder what the heck I'm doing there."

In addition to the stress of her own ambivalence and her family's objections, Mrs. Mineo has two additional sources of difficulty: little assistance from her husband and sons with household work, and the resentment she feels as a result. "Sometimes I'm tired ... and come home from work and nobody's done anything and I have to cook and I feel angry and I think I shouldn't have to do both jobs." She concludes that "on the whole it doesn't bother me," but her other comments suggest this may not be a completely accurate summary of her feelings.

Her part-time work arrangements are such that Mrs. Mineo's family does not have to make very many adjustments to accommodate them and this in turn may create a third source of stress. She feels that her husband and sons don't mind her weekend work as much as her previous evening work hours because now "I'm there to cook dinner and put the kids to bed and see that things get done and that makes them feel better." However, the lack of adjustments now perhaps only puts off bigger and harder adjustments in the future. Specifically, on the one hand, she reports that, "He doesn't want me to have to work....but it's becoming

> a necessary thing and the money does help out because it takes some of the strain off him." On the other hand, though, he feels that if she has to work he would prefer that it be full-time. Before she will consider this work, however, she says vehemently that "there's going to have to be some changes in this house -- I can't do both. I can't work full-time and do everything around here. Everybody's going to have to help out with the housework -- I can't have everything on my shoulders. I won't be able to cope, am not Wonder Woman." These things have held her back from full-time work because "we haven't been able to decide on these changes." Her husband is getting better, but "it's still a struggle."

The Mineos are an extreme case in the sample, but they illustrate aspects of issues some of the other part-time working women also mentioned: the satisfactions and frustrations of both paid employment and housework, difficulties in the family's adjustment to maternal employment, the attempt to arrange work so that child care is kept within the immediate family, and the complexity of the husband's attitudes about the wife's employment.

The Mineo case also points to the importance of the husband's household assistance. The examination of the interview material concerning housework shows that more than half of the husbands of part-time working mothers help out around the house and the remainder appear to provide very little such assistance. As other studies of husband's involvement in housework have shown, the majority of the husbands who are involved with it "help out." Specifically, they assist their wives who are ultimately responsible for a task, rather than assuming responsibility for the task themselves (Weiss and the Working Family Project, 1974, Note 1). Helping out behavior ranges from a mother who reported "I do it all unless I'm sick and then my husband does it...but I have to be sick or very tired before he will help" to those who indicate their husbands always help if they ask them to. There are also a few women who mention that their husbands do take the initiative in doing household tasks. One woman who works from 9 to 2 daily, for example, says of her night shift-working husband, "He helps me a lot by doing things during the week and when the weekend comes, if all the housework isn't done, the two of us will do it together." In a few of the families there are indications that the division of household tasks is a volatile issue; there are also several women, who like Mrs. Mineo, noted that if they went to work full-time, their husbands would have to get more involved.

The analysis of employed women's perceptions of their husband's attitudes about working shows that the majority believe their husbands approve of their part-time employment for a variety of reasons: it makes the wife happy, it gives her a break, it brings in extra money, it's only part-time so she can be at home a lot. Those who are not part of this majority fall into four groups. First, the three women who work at home as day care mothers all have husbands who are happy because their wives are at home. As one of these women expressed it, "He feels very good about it; he's glad that I'm home and doesn't want me to work outside." Second, there are three women who commented only that their husbands leave the choice of whether or not to work up to them. Third, there are four women who have husbands who would strongly prefer they did not work; three of these wives agree with their husbands, but work because of family financial necessity. Finally, in several cases the women's comments indicate that their husbands have mildly negative or ambivalent feelings. For example:

> -I don't know if he minds me working or not. I think he's reconciled himself to this fact. He likes the extra money, too. We've become real used to having it. (Clerical worker, 20 hours a week)

> -Working one day a week is fine. He doesn't object. If it were full-time there would be a hassle; he's of the opinion that women should stay home. My working was a hard adjustment for him. (Nurse, 8 hours a week)

> -He did not really want me to go back, even part-time. He is fine about my working.... He said 'we don't need the money,' but I explained to him that it was just nice to have my own money -- to buy presents or whatever. I make good money and it's worked out well. (Beautician, 12 hours a week)

In summary, for the majority of mothers employed part-time, the pros of part-time work outweight the cons. The amount of time they work allows them to balance their own need to work and get out of the home with their perceptions of their children's needs for parenting time and activities. The dilemmas they describe include the trade-off of social contact for work at home by the home workers, the trade-off of time together as a couple and as a family for family-produced child care for those employing serial arrangements, and the dilemmas involved in the attempt to balance personal and familial needs. As the next section suggests, the latter two of these dilemmas are even sharper in the case of many full-time workers.

Perceptions of Full-time Workers

The twenty-six full-time working mothers are divided among service, clerical, and professional (primarily teaching) occupations. Five of these women are home day care providers and nine coordinate their working hours with their husbands, so that child care is the sole responsibility of the immediate family. This latter group is almost equally divided between women working days and nights. Four work days and have husbands who work the afternoon (usually 3 or 4 to 11 or 12) or the night (11 or 12 to 7 or 8) shift; five work the afternoon or evening shift while their husbands work during the day.

Serial Care Families

One of the primary benefits and perhaps motivations of the group of nine full-time working mothers who have the serial care arrangement is that they do not have to use outside child care. Eight of the nine mentioned this in evaluating their working situation. As one mother whose husband chose shift work in order to be home with his child while his wife worked evaluated her arrangement, "My girlfriend asks me if I have working mother's syndrome -- (guilt at not being home with children). I don't. I feel the boys aren't missing anything because my husband's home with them." It is unclear how many of the others deliberately chose to work such coordinated shifts to facilitate child care, but there are hints that a number did so for both quality of care and financial reasons. As in the case of the part-time working mothers who had serial care arrangements, many full-time workers noted that their children got to spend mutually beneficial time with their fathers. "He devotes more time than when I wasn't working," one afternoon shift working mother said.

This serial care coordination again comes at the cost of time for the parents together, a trade-off which was often explicitly recognized. "It's hard personally for the two of us, but it's helping my son," one mother noted. None of the nine mothers failed to mention how difficult their child care arrangements were for their husbands and themselves. Examination of the families daily schedules shows that they do have little if any time together at home. The case of the Lenkowskis is a good example.

The Lenkowskis

> Mrs. Lenkowski is a manager of a small store and her husband is a factory foremen. She works daily from 7 to 2:45 and her husband works the afternoon shift. "It's hard," Mrs. Lenkowski said, "we see each other about 15 minutes a day, five days a week and he works a lot of Saturdays. I'm up at 5:30 am every morning so I can't wait up for him. We talk on the phone during the day but that's it." She says her husband feels bad when he works on Saturday but they need the money. The family feels the effect of Saturday work acutely because they have so little time together as a group.

Another mother who works nights in the business she and her husband own feels that work dominates their life. "I don't mind working," she said, "but I just don't like the fact that I'm working and my husband is working and we're never together. Someone's always walking out and this bothers me as far as our personal life goes..." She adds, "The only good day of the week is Sunday because we're all together." The view of one mother summarizes the feelings of the others about the impact of this work pattern on the parents: "With our different schedules, it's TERRIBLE for us."

There are some hints that a few of these families feel slightly out-of-kilter, and that they worry that their work arrangements affect their capacity to be a normal and effective family group. One mother said that her husband works the night shift and that "he wishes he were home at night so that we could all be together and be more like a real family." In the case of the Lenkowskis, there are far-reaching implications of being "off-schedule:"

> -I wish he could get himself 'straight hours' so our three-year-old could get up earlier.... As it is, he sleeps late cause he works second shift and so I have to keep our son up late so he doesn't get up without anyone to watch him in the morning. Meanwhile, I not only don't get the sleep I need since I'm up at 5:30, but I don't get any time to myself like I would for an hour or two if my younger son went to bed with the older one.... I feel I'm with them more than he is; it's not shared responsibility. Working nights is hard on him too, I know. It's like purgatory.

Working the night shift is a problem for another mother because she gets home late, sometimes at 4 am, but she has to be up at 7 for her children. "It really runs me down," she reports.

As was the case with the women who work part-time and have similar serial child care arrangements, these families trade-off time with their spouses and time for the family to be all together for the benefits of child care provided by immediate family members. Unlike the part-time workers, however, many of these families' schedules allow them almost no time together, particularly during the week. This is very stressful for many of them. However, with the exception of one mother whose sole reason for employment is financial need, these mothers speak positively about working and gave no evidence of plans to quit. Several did comment that they see their present shift and serial care arrangement as time-limited, only "okay for now." One also mentioned that when her daughter goes to school she planned to change from the evening shift to one which allowed her to be home when her daughter returned from school.

Evaluations of Full-time Work and Its Effect on the Family

Turning to the full-time working mothers' evaluations of employment, the majority are generally positive. Specifically, taking all of each mother's comments about working into account, seventeen prefer to be working, three would prefer not to be, and six appear to be ambivalent. The three who said they do not like to work include a mother who was quitting her job imminently because she feels it is too difficult to manage with three small children, one who is tired of hassles with sitters, and a day care mother who would rather not have to work at all.

Those who seem ambivalent about working cite an approximately equal number of strong positive and negative factors. This position is exemplified by the case of a teacher who said:

> -Sometimes it's extremely fulfilling and other times it's extremely frustrating. I always seem to feel both ends of the spectrum. A big problem is that I don't have enough time to complete my work at school so I always end up having to take work home .... I don't have enough time to clean, spend time with my daughter, make supper, do dishes, wash my hair and still correct 30 math exams. I get so tired sometimes. Then I sleep in and end up yelling at my daughter because she isn't doing something fast enough.... Sometimes it puts a lot of pressure on me, but I feel I need to do it both financially and for the growth I get out of it...it's necessary for my mental health.

Another of the teachers echoed this view when she said that she "loves" teaching but that "there aren't enough hours in the day to do everything I need to do." The third mother with ambivalent feelings has her own business and works mainly for financial reasons. On the one hand, she feels working is detrimental to her children and therefore she doesn't "really want to work." On the other hand, she notes that she also likes working and her paycheck for what they represent: "One of the things that I enjoy about my job is that it gives me independence...a little of my own money and time by myself. When I'm not working, I don't like the feeling my husband gives me of being totally dependent on him. I'm not that kind of person." Another of the ambivalent mothers feels her financial contribution to the family is important; she enjoys her job because it entails meeting people and she feels getting away from her family makes her more patient. But at the same time, working leaves her very tired and she can't do her housework adequately nor spend sufficient time with her children. "You're always rushing," she said, "or pinched for time" so that "you can't do important things right." It can be argued that most of the mothers have some ambivalent feelings because they describe both positive and negative feelings or consequences of their full-time employment. This is true, but in the above four cases the pro's and con's each seem strong and/or to produce a distinctive disquiet which is stressful over and above the particular stresses inherent in the work situation per se.

The seventeen mothers who are primarily positive about working full-time cite a number of work-related benefits. Financial incentives are important because they involve a contribution to the family's overall economic well-being and because earnings lead to a sense of self-esteem and independence. "I like having money of my own," a clerical worker said, "it makes me more independent and able to do some of the things I want." The most frequent complaint about jobs per se is also financial: they do not pay enough. About half of the mothers responded that they needed to get out of the house and to work for "mental health" reasons. For example:

> -If I wasn't working I'd be climbing the walls. I was very glad to get back after I had my last child...I enjoy my job. I'm not one to be home all day...at least during the day I'm with adults. (Manager, 37 hours a week)
>
> -I think I'm more at ease with myself if I can get out of the house...things don't get on my nerves as easily -- it's sort of a release. (Service worker, 40 hours a week)
>
> -I enjoy working. It works out fine. I need to work. Financially without me working, we wouldn't make it. I need to work for me -- for the outside interest. I need the stimulation outside the home. It relieves tension for me...if I was home every day, I wouldn't grow as a person. (Manager, 40 hours a week)
>
> -I enjoy my job and feel it is necessary for my mental health, but it's a darned good thing we have long vacations. (Teacher, 45 hours a week)
>
> -I like working. I have got to be involved. I don't know what I'd do if I had all that free time on my hands. (College teacher, 40 hours a week)
>
> -I like it. I don't know how long I'll like it.... You sit home for so many years and there's nothing to look forward to -- this is variety for awhile.... (Machine operator, 40 hours a week)

More than half of the mothers also report that they like the kind of work that they do. Most of the women in professional jobs mention some intrinsic job qualities, while those in non-professional jobs were less likely to do so. Specifically, six of these women are teachers or related professional and technical workers, two are in managerial jobs, and six are in factory or clerical positions. This breakdown suggests that there may be some tendency for those in professional jobs to mention intrinsic qualities of their jobs, while those in other occupational groups focus on the financial rewards, opportunity to get out of the house, and the like.

Some of the statements about work, including some of those cited above, relate to the mother's self-esteem and feelings about herself as a person. As in the case of some of the part-time workers, a number of these full-time workers speak of their need for work as well as family roles in order to maintain their sense of themselves as people. As one of the mothers, a saleswoman, explains: "I like my job. I can get out and be a person myself -- not just a mother and wife. I can be me. It gives you a chance to keep your identity." In analyzing the interview material, it is clear that many of these women need and achieve a sense of themselves independent of their families through employment.

Initial analysis of the homemakers' evaluations of their situations suggests that they also have similar needs; many speak of the need to get out of the house, have some time for themselves, engage in activities away from their families, and interact with other adults. The opportunity to meet these needs through membership in a club or craft group, or activities such as a night out with other women bowling, are cited as opportunities to be something other than a mother. Perhaps there is a sense in which a break from mothering is a requisite to good parenting for workers and non-workers alike. Time away from the family is seen as making the experience more valuable. This is clearly the sentiment of a number of the mothers and one which a clerical worker articulates clearly. In response to a question about how she and her daughter get along, she responded: "Good. I think working has helped that because I appreciate her more than when she's on my neck every minute all day long. Then you end up screaming and yelling at them. I'm more tolerant and patient with her now that I don't see her as much."

The full-time workers also referred to a number of ways in which working can create difficulties for them as parents and for their children. Four of the five teachers said that their jobs required them to work at home in the evening and that this was very disruptive for them and deprived their children of time with their mothers. "I wish I had less work to bring home with me," one said, "I hate, hate, hate having to come home from school and still have to do more work before I go in the next day." Another said, "If I could teach and come home and leave it at school it would be great, but you can't do that. You have to plan for the next day and correct papers and things like that; it's a question of time." As a result, she works after her daughter goes to bed, "which means I don't get to bed until 1:30 or 2:00 a.m. and my own health suffers." Evening work, perhaps more frequent in professional occupations, is hence an important source of stress for these teachers.

Several mothers also mentioned that problems at work or weariness from work sometimes carried over negatively into the family. One university researcher observed that "It reflects on me when I am not happy at work and the repercussions are sometimes felt during the weekend here at home." She then added, "I shouldn't burden them with what's happening with me at work."

Another mother, a teacher, has a very demanding job which she feels makes her tired and less patient at home at night and on weekends. "It means a constant juggling of priorities and energy and always feeling like something is slighted." She feels that her child is probably affected by this; she is "less patient with her, less likely to try and work out alternatives for her, and therefore she probably has more tantrums, but then again, she's at the age for tantrums." Because her mother is not always around, she feels her daughter "asks me to hold her and sticks closeby when I'm around." This mother is glad she has the summers off to devote to her family and that her daughter has a good nursery school which she enjoys. The press of limited time is very much an on-going source of stress in many of these families.

About a quarter of the twenty-one mothers working outside the home specifically noted that their jobs did not allow them to spend enough time with their children. One woman who has her own small business and works due to financial need, said, "I enjoy my kids and I find that there's always more, much more attention that they need and I want to give them than is possible.... Work generally interferes with time I think a young child needs with his mother." A sales worker observed that "Having to work makes it hard to be a parent because you can't be with your child as much as you should be." A clerical worker reported that she "can't spend the time I'd like, or that I used to, with my daughter" and she feels she is "always rushing or pinched for time." Others, however, feel that although they have less time with their children, what time they do have is special and put to good use. About a quarter of the mothers would prefer to work fewer hours and not to work on weekends or holidays. Several would work part-time if such jobs were available and well-paid.

Difficulties at the daily transition point between home and work, the time of leave-taking, are an issue for about a quarter of these families. "There are times when she pleads with me to stay home and that just breaks my heart," a teacher said. Another teacher echoed these remarks with the statement "It really seems to bother her. She tells me 'I don't want you to go, Mommy.' I feel guilty about it at times, especially when I have to bring papers home...." Others also report they find it hard to leave even when their children do not seem to mind. This exit situation was one of the primary instances these women referred to as guilt-producing for them.

Good child care is also cited as an important source of support by many of the women who do not keep it within the immediate family. The four who have relatives caring for their children all use grandparents. Three of these mothers state they would consider not working if such child care were unavailable. Grandparents are valued because the mothers trust them; they are described as "loving and responsible," and "dependable." The only complaint is that grandparents sometimes spoil the child. Only one of these mothers mentioned major drawbacks in such care; the woman is planning to send her son to a local church's child care program to "wean him" from her parents, "give him access to other children, and prepare him for school."

Seven of the nine families who rely on sitters and day care or full-day nursery facilities are generally pleased with their arrangements. Those using such care typically cite benefits for both themselves and their children: One mother using a local developmentally oriented day care center described her feelings this way:

> My daughter has better developmental abilities as a result of going there and she's happier there than she would be at home. I'm happy with it. I want and need to work and this day care situation eliminates any tension or guilt I might otherwise have, or hostility I would feel if I had to stay home.

Other benefits for the child include enriching programs, personnel who care about and are specially trained to work with children and access to other children and adults. The primary benefit for the mothers is the peace of mind accruing from child care arrangements they regard as beneficial for their children. "Having a day care center we have complete confidence in makes it easier for all of us. My three-year-old loves it and we don't have to feel guilty," a university teacher said, and several others expressed similar sentiments. Scattered complaints about child care focused on difficulties when the child was sick or the center was closed, and on the inconvenience of daily center hours.

Two of the mothers were exceptionally unhappy with their child care; one was planning to find another sitter because she could not afford the extra cost of a day care center, and the other was quitting her job imminently. The latter mother, Mrs. Green, is more discontented with her work and child care arrangements than any other full-time working mother. Her case collects together many of the negative feelings expressed by some of the other less discontented mothers.

5.33

The Greens

Mrs. Green works forty hours a week as a secretary. She explained that she was not planning to work after she had children. However, her husband was unemployed so she got a job because "You have to pull together." She explained that working was not so difficult when she had fewer children; now with four, she finds it very difficult. "I don't like working," she said, "we don't have any kind of life. When you work you're constantly racing around... and there's never any relaxation -- work, come home and work, go to bed, get up and go to work, come home and work, go to bed, over and over with no respite. It's not my idea of living." She also finds it a "constant battle trying to keep up with the housework"; her husband provides little, if any, assistance.

She feels she does not have enough time to spend with her children, particularly "to teach them things they should have for school." She says she is tired after a full day's work and that she sometimes is impatient and "overreacts to little things." In describing her husband's parenting, Mrs. Green says, "there's room for improvement" because he's "not tolerant enough." She hopes that will change when she is home all of the time.

Mrs. Green has used the same day care mother for several years. At first she was pleased to have her three-year-old there because this child had a difficult time when a younger sibling was born. However, now she feels the children do not get "good enough care." Specifically, she observed that "There's a lot of things going on I don't approve of and even when I point them out to my daughter it does no good.... If you're paying you expect to have some say in how things are done... However, the day care mother now takes in too many children, the children watch too much television, and they rarely get outside." As a result, "It makes it even harder to go to work every day when you don't feel good about your children's day care situation."

A week after the interview was conducted, Mrs. Green was quitting work. She says she and her husband have "mixed feelings" about this, not least because she does not "know if we'll make out with me not working anymore, because it was hard enough with me working."

The Green case illustrates the kind of tight schedule and the routine of the daily time crunch many such dual-worker families experience. The negative implications of the schedule and crunch are perceived to be felt by everyone, adults and children alike. However, two of the things that other sample mothers report help enormously are not present here, household help from Mr. Green and good child care.

Fathers' Attitudes Toward Maternal Employment

The mothers' perceptions of their husbands' attitudes toward maternal employment reveal a complex set of feelings. Nearly half of the husbands are reported to favor their wives' working, primarily for financial reasons, although some are still clearly ambivalent about it:

> -He likes it, he knows we need the money and that I need to get out of the house... (Factory worker)
>
> -He'd rather have me at home, but he knows I have to work -- financially. (Teacher)
>
> -He loves it. He says if our mortgage weren't so high I wouldn't have to work, though. When our three-year-old gets on his nerves, he wishes I was here.... (Service manager)
>
> -The money is nice, the bills' going down is nice, but he feels as I do, that it would be better if I was home full-time, but we need the money. (Clerical worker)
>
> -Good, he likes me working, I think...he likes the money. (Factory machinist)
>
> -He wants me to work because we have to have the money... (Factory machinist)
>
> -I don't know. I think financially he thinks it's helped a lot, but other than that, it hasn't. (Clerical worker)

Many of the remainder of the women reported that their husbands liked their employment or accepted their choice in the matter. Three report that their husbands would prefer that they were not employed; they expressed some variant of the following:

"It's hard for him, he's the type that thinks a wife should be at home."

More than half of these wives report that their husbands help them with household work, as Table 5.2 below indicates

Table 5.2

Full-Time Employed Mothers'
Perceptions of Fathers' Assistance
with Household Tasks

Mother does majority of household tasks with little help from father	Mother gets substantial help from father on household tasks	Mother feels she does not get enough help from father
6	15	5
N=26		

This assistance ranges from occasional help such as dinner preparation on evenings when the wife works late to an approximate equal split of most of the major daily and weekly chores. It is interesting to note that unlike the case of the part-time workers, many of the specific tasks these women report their husbands perform are not traditionally male ones. They include tasks such as cooking, cleaning, dishes, laundry, vacuuming, and the like. About a fifth of them note some variant of the view expressed by a woman who is employed in a family business: "We both do it. The days I work, he takes care of the house, and the days he works I take care of the house. It's a fifty-fifty deal. We both do everything, we're very compatible in that respect." Another couple arranges their "fifty-fifty proposition" by dividing the responsibility for rooms in half: "He does the kids' rooms, bathroom and living room, I do the kitchen, dining room, and our bedroom."

Others suggest that their husbands help at crucial times; one home day care provider, for example, is responsible for most of the chores but "my husband helps get dinner ready and clear the table every night. I've got one in a million!" Many of the men seem to help with dinner or related tasks because this is a daily pressure point in many homes: "It's hard to come home from a full work day or school day and have a lot of household responsibilities."

In some cases where the wives work the evening shift, husbands are responsible for all the mealtime and evening tasks. One clerical worker, who works from 3-11 pm daily, gave this account of the family arrangements:

> I usually do the housework while he usually does the outside maintenance work but we're flexible. He does housework while I'm at work and vice versa. I try to get as much of the washing, cleaning, etc. done during the day before he comes home. If I don't get it done, he will do it at night. Our lives have to be flexible, if not it wouldn't work. He gets the kids' dinner, washes the dishes and gives them baths, and puts them to bed most nights.

The serial care arrangement seems to promote the husband's involvement beyond traditionally male tasks; five of the nine women involved in such an arrangement said that their husbands are intensely involved in household work arrangements similar to the one described above. Overall, the husband's assistance in these areas is a highly valued contribution and appears to be one of the key factors in determining how smoothly these time-and work-pressed families operate.

Summary and Implications

The chapter began with four questions about working mothers and their families; some of the answers will be reiterated here along with suggestions about their implications for the understanding of work and family relationships. In response to the first question, why they choose paid employment, these working mothers mention a variety of economic and more personal or developmental reasons. Their responses hint at what may be an important historical difference in women's attitudes about the relationship between their work and family roles. In the not too far distant past, one historian has noted, women rarely acknowledged that they were employed for anything but financial reasons, because to do so would be considered dangerously non-maternal (Chafe, 1972). These interviews suggest that time is past for many mothers. Gilligan (1977) has noted in her research on the special trajectory of women's moral development, that "the conflict between self and other constitutes the central moral problem for women, posing a dilemma whose resolution requres [illegible] reconciliation between femininity and adulthood" (pg. 490). The data indicate that this is an important problem for many of the mothers and that they are actively working out their thinking about what the balance between their personal needs and their family's needs should be. Further, the imagery that many of the mothers use to describe the benefits of work, the opportunity to get away from home, to interact with other adults, and the like, suggests that for some of these moderate and middle-income women employed in primarily non-professional occupations, employment offers a crucial respite from their primary maternal role. This raises the possibility of an interesting symmetry with men. The prevalent view about the paternal balance between work and family is that paternal involvement in the family offers men a respite from their primary and external role of work-oriented provider.

At the same time that women are thinking about the above issues, their work choices are heavily influenced by their familial involvement. Perhaps the best evidence for this was presented in Table 5.1 with the percentages of women engaged in home work and serial care arrangements. In response to the second question about arrangements and adjustments to balance work and family responsibilities, many of the mothers and their families have worked out ways to try to maximize their child care and childrearing time in line with their ideological position that these things are best kept within the family. The pervasiveness of these home work and serial arrangements suggests that at this point in the development of work and family relationships, it is not enough to look simply at the amount of time worked to get a sense of the powerful effects of work on family life. Rather, one also has to look at the timing of work by family members and the work location. There is further corroboration for this point from evidence collected by the Michigan Panel Study's Survey of Income Dynamics. The data from their 1976 interview with married women shows that in response to a question about child care while working, many mothers reported that they work at home or that they and their husbands work split shifts. In fact, these were the second most frequently mentioned type of arrangements among women with children under twelve (Weiss, 1981A, Note 2).

The mother's perceptions of home work and serial care make it clear that these arrangements involve difficult trade-offs for them. The home workers trade-off many of the social, personal and perhaps financial benefits of work outside the home for the opportunity to care for their own children while they work. The serial care families exchange time as a couple and as a family in order to keep their child care within the family. There is some evidence, however, that the latter arrangement expands the father's time and relationship with his children and generally increases his household involvement.

The chapter has explored many aspects of the mothers' views about the costs and benefits of employment for themselves and their families. Rather than review them all here, we focus on the main ones. The main costs, particularly for the families in which both parents work full-time, are particularly heavy in terms of the lack of time with its many accompanying pressures. Husbands' assistance with household work and child care appears to alleviate some of these pressures. The nature and amount of this assistance, as the Mineos' case suggests, is currently being negotiated in some of the families. The benefits are financial as well as personal for both the women and their families. Some of the mothers indicate that working makes them better parents, although a few also think it has the opposite effect.

A number of mothers link work and family through the concept of patience. This connection between patience or its opposite, impatience, and work is important in the light of two factors. First, patience or the lack of it is a dominant factor in the mothers' descriptions and evaluations of themselves and their spouses as parents, as Table 5.3 below shows:

Table 5.3

Percentage of Mothers Who Do or Do Not Mention Patience or Impatience

	Mention they or their spouses are patient or impatient	Do not mention patience or impatience
Full-time working mothers	73% (19)	27% (7)
Part-time working mothers	83% (19)	17% (4)
Housewives	81% (42)	19% (10)

Others, who have studied housewives, have similarly noted how freqently mothers speak of patience (Piotrkowski, 1979; Komarovsky, 1962; Lopata, 1971). The fact that mothers, regardless of work status, mention this concept does not necessarily mean that the dynamics of patience operate the same way irrespective of work status.

Second, initial analysis suggests that in the overall sample of white, married working and non-working mothers, few other factors besides employment or the opportunity to get out of the house were linked to parental patience or impatience. The attempt to unravel the etiology of patience has just begun, but the initial analyses presented in this chapter suggest it is both an interactive and ecologically influenced behavior. Future analyses will endeavor to get a closer understanding of what this concept and behavior are in everyday parenting and to unravel its relationship to contextual factors such as work status, work hours, and husband's household assistance.

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CHAPTER 6

FAMILIES & NEIGHBORHOODS*

Heather Weiss

Introduction

This chapter addresses questions about how parents view and evaluate their neighborhoods and about the ways different neighborhood ecologies enable and inhibit parents' and children's activities. One of the most important premises underlying the research and intervention efforts of the Comparative Ecology Project is the recognition that parents are embedded in larger structures which influence their capacity to grow and rear their children (Bronfenbrenner and Cochran, 1976; Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Specifically, it is argued "that in order to understand what is happening in families and how they function as contexts for human development, it is not enough simply to examine the internal states of individuals, or even the interaction patterns of family members as they go about their daily activities inside the home" (Cochran and Woolever, 1981). Rather, it is crucial to examine interactions with those external forces that help to shape families as developmental systems. One of the most proximate and potentially coercive of these forces is the neighborhood. From the outset, understanding the effects of neighborhood ecology on child development has been a key element in the project's research design. This fact is evident in the selection of neighborhoods in addition to individual families as sampling units (described

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*We gratefully acknowledge the support of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation in the work described in this chapter. Family names used in this chapter are ficticious.

in Appendix 6.1), the implementation of programs on a neighborhood basis, and in subsequent plans for data analysis.

Researchers who study neighborhoods recognize that there is no current, clear conceptualization of what a neighborhood is. In her extensive review of the literature on urban neighborhoods, Keller (1968) found, for example, that neighborhood was an ambiguous term; more recent commentators have also focused on this conceptual confusion and on the complexity of unraveling neighborhood systems and their influence (Hojnacki, 1979; Miller, 1979). One of the factors that makes the conceptualization and delineation of neighborhoods so problematic is that geographic and subjectively defined boundaries frequently do not coincide. Some neighborhoods are easily defined because of geographic isolation, compatible and homogeneous residents, or historical tradition. Others have few, if any, such easily identifiable markers. This has led some to conclude that a self-definitional approach is a useful starting point for neighborhood research (Hojnacki, 1979; Regnier, 1976). Simply put, "a neighborhood is what the people who are there say is a neighborhood" (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, pg. 9). The project has taken this subjective element into account in several ways: initially in drawing neighborhood boundaries, and subsequently in the use of semi-structured and open-ended interview questions which permit the parent to delineate the neighborhood and define its important attributes.

Qualitative analyses of the resulting data show that neighborhoods differ widely in the nature and amount of support they provide to families with small children. The analyses of the views of all the families in the project's ten program neighborhoods, which are presented here, suggest that there are three dimensions of a neighborhood which are especially important to the parents of small children: physical characteristics (parks and yards, for example), social characteristics (age, race, and income of neighbors, for example), and perceptions of the ways in which the interactions of people in the area affect parenting and child activities. Many researchers limit their conception of neighborhoods to geographic, physical, and social properties. These properties alone, however, do not capture the particular dynamics of a neighborhood as they influence families raising small children. As Gump (1976) argues, neighborhood ecologies are not passive, but actively coercive in the ways they shape the activities of everyday life. It is this active, dynamic aspect of neighborhoods which we will refer to as their social ecology.

The following two examples serve to illustrate the multidimensional power of neighborhoods defined in physical, social, and interactional terms. The cases represent two unmixed extremes, beneficent and malevolent neighborhood effects on childrearing. Both sets of neighborhood perceptions are from white single mothers living on welfare income in a housing project. The first one, Mrs. Smith, is 36 years old and has four children, the second, Mrs. South, is 38 and has one child.

Mrs. Smith says that her neighborhood in an inner city area of Syracuse "could be improved." It has trash, "garbage, and glass everywhere;" her daughter recently fell on the sidewalk and cut her hand on a broken bottle. "I worry about the neighborhood," she says, "because it is very dangerous." As a result, she reports that "I can never let my three-year-old out, ever!" In warm weather her children can only go outside when there is a group of them together. Mrs. Smith is white and feels there is a great deal of racial hostility in her area; Black teenagers recently beat up her thirteen-year-old daughter. She takes her children to a distant park rather than the neighborhood one in order to avoid racial problems. She has lived in the neighborhood for seven months but does not know any of her neighbors. "With all this bad stuff that goes on around here," she says, "I worry all the time." She feels especially vulnerable as a single parent in this area; she worries that "if anything happened in the middle of the night, like if someone broke in or something like that...I am only a woman and I'm here all alone with my kids -- I'm all the protection they've got." She sometimes thinks about reconciliation with her husband because, although he was "mean" to her, at least his presence would add the help of another adult to a very difficult situation.

Mrs. South's views of her neighborhood offer a stark contrast. She has lived for 12 months in a housing project in her area of the city. In response to a general question about neighborhood likes and dislikes, Mrs. South replied that "I've got one of the best courts of them all ... all my neighbors are fantastic...we all get along and it's give and take -- if someone needs a sitter or to borrow something, we always help each other out." She says that her daughter has lots of other children around to play with and, moreover, "they're good kids so I can trust her with them and she has a little more independence because of this...." Mrs. South feels she also benefits from the quality of these playmates because "I don't have to constantly keep an eye on her." The older kids in the area are not, as many families in other areas feel, a liability, but an asset. Specifically, Mrs. South says that "they will teach her things and she is able to learn a lot from them and they watch out for her." These older children take her daughter to the complex's recreation hall so "she doesn't always have to depend on me." Mrs. South feels very secure in her area because "people watch out for everyone else."

The cases of Mrs. Smith and Mrs. South show how different neighborhood ecologies can be, and in turn, what powerful effects they can have on parents and children alike. As a single parent, Mrs. Smith gets very little help and experiences many problems from her immediate environment. She and her children appear to be cooped-up without access to many other adults or children. She constantly worries about basic safety issues. Mrs. South, on the other hand, receives a great deal of support from her surroundings, which relieves her of the exclusive burden of child care and exposes her daughter to a variety of people and opportunities outside the home. Mrs. Smith feels very safe as part of an on-going and reciprocal system of neighborly support.

Methods

The ten neighborhoods considered here are those in which the Family Matters intervention program has been administered. We chose to concentrate on these -- and not the control neighborhoods -- because the resources available for neighborhood analysis have been limited and because assessment of program effects has been a primary concern for NIE.

The data used in this chapter are of both a qualitative and quantitative nature. Physical descriptions of neighborhoods are based on direct observations conducted by project personnel. Observers considered type, quality, and density of housing, traffic patterns, placement of commercial areas within a neighborhood, availability of services (schools, health facilities, community agencies), location and condition of parks and recreational areas, social atmosphere on the streets, and the general condition of the neighborhood. Next, we considered parental perceptions of the neighborhood. These subjective evaluations were drawn from the Stresses and Supports Interviews, conducted when the target children were three years old.

We have also relied upon demographic data on participating families. These data are drawn from the Family Background Interview and provide the basis for assessing neighborhood socio-economic status, distribution of single mothers across neighborhoods, neighborhood racial and ethnic composition, mobility rates of program families, and data on home ownership by neighborhood.

We have combined subjective reports from parents with objective information because it is apparent that parental perceptions of the value of some of the more objective features of an area vary across the neighborhoods. For purposes of initial illustration, differential feelings about neighborhood parks are a good example. On the face of it, the existence of a neighborhood park would be regarded as something that should benefit parents with small children; however, review of parents' detailed responses to questions about neighborhood facilities shows that certain parks are experienced as more of a liability than an asset. By way of explanation, parents often cite the presence of drug-users, drunks, derelicts, pushers, and broken glass which detract from the overall area and prevent residents from using the park.

The analysis of parental perceptions also points to another important principle defining neighborhood ecology. Certain features of an area are a help or hindrance to parenting simply by virtue of their presence or absence. These two contrasts -- presence, absence, help, and hindrance -- form a neat but not completely inclusive matrix. As in the aforementioned case of dangerous parks, some features of the urban neighborhood environment are stressful or inhibiting because they are present but functionally unavailable. This more complex aspect of neighborhood ecology has also been noted by Gump (1975). He cites the example of areas where there are sufficient agemates for children to play together but parental concerns about their children's safety prevent the use of outdoor space for such play. This dynamic, Gump suggests, precludes a lot of social activity for children (p. 96).

One of the key criteria used in neighborhood selection was neighborhood socioeconomic status. A sample was chosen to range from poor inner-city neighborhoods to middle income suburban areas. In this, and other research on families and children, socioeconomic status is an important classification variable. This is also the case with the analysis of parents' perceptions of the effects of neighborhood on their families. In this chapter we will present demographic data on program families in the neighborhoods in order to examine the relationship between neighborhood socioeconomic status and particular demographic characteristics of program families, such as marital status and length of neighborhood residence. The tables containing these data are set up so that the three low-SES areas (LBJ, Lexington-East Fayette, and Tallman-South) are always to the left; the two moderate-SES areas (Nedrow and Eastwood-North) lie in the middle, and the five middle-SES areas (Liverpool, Tipperary Hill, Schiller-Wadsworth, Westcott-Thornden and Salt Springs) are to the right.

Succeeding sections of this chapter will examine and compare the ten program neighborhoods in terms of their physical, social and social-ecological dimensions and explore the implications of these dimensions for childrearing and for parents' and children's activities. The focus of the comparisons is on differences in the "behavioral opportunities" (Gump, 1975) which are presented by the physical, social, and social ecological characteristics of the program neighborhoods. Following the introduction, the next section starts with a short description of each neighborhood, which is designed to give the reader a visual sense of each area. This is followed by a discussion of how the parents demarcated their neighborhoods and of the impact of the neighborhoods' physical characteristics on families. The next section presents the social characteristics of the neighborhood and the neighbors that the parents felt were important, and describes how they vary across the ten areas. Next, we focus on the neighborhoods' social ecology or the interactions of neighborhood people and how they bear on parent and child are the topic of analysis. The chapter concludes with hypotheses about the effects of neighborhoods on childrearing which are suggested by the analyses of the parent's perceptions.

This chapter does not provide an in-depth view of each program area; for those interested in such a view, Appendix 6.2 contains a descriptive profile of each program neighborhood. Each profile has four parts: observations of the physical and social aspects of neighborhoods with an accompanying map for orientation; a description of the socio-demographic characteristics of project families; an analysis of the place of neighbors in the networks of families; and a detailed account of the families' perceptions of their neighborhoods and related issues.

Neighborhood Observations

Each of the ten program neighborhoods has a special character of its own, which is most readily apparent in visual characteristics such as the nature and quality of housing, size of lots, available recreational space, amount of traffic, and the mixture of residential and commercial space. We begin our comparison of the neighborhoods with a brief description of each one based on observations by the author and project field staff. This presentation is designed to provide a visual sense of the neighborhoods for the reader. We begin with the three lower-SES areas and continue through to the five middle-income ones.

LBJ Triangle

The LBJ triangle area is a low-income, racially mixed area within the city. It is heavily interlaced with commercial establishments, apartment buildings, bars, and small pockets of deteriorating housing. The houses have yards which are unkempt, full of weeds, and like "a wasteland." Housing occupancy is sometimes difficult to determine in the more dilapitated areas; it is primarily indicated by Beware of Dog and No Trespassing signs.

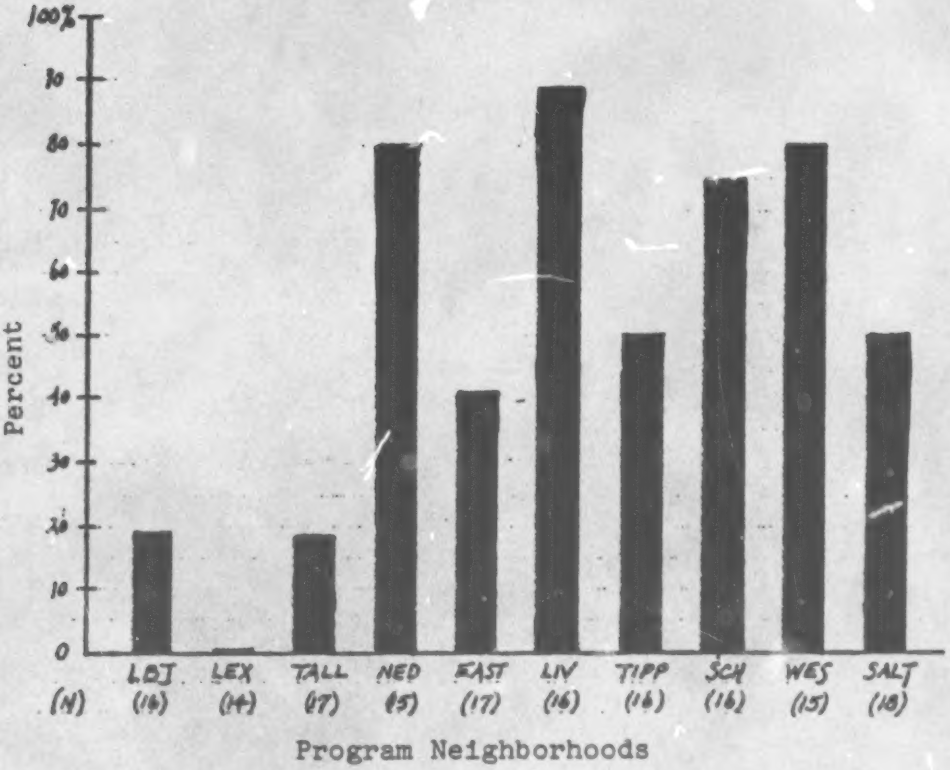
There is a great deal of traffic throughout the neighborhood which curtails mobility, particularly for children. While there are many stores in the area, the residents complain that the prices are too high, so many prefer to shop outside the neighborhood. The LBJ area is very active, day and night. Groups of teenagers "hang out" at various corners. As Figure 6.1 shows, only twenty percent of the project families in the neighborhood own their own homes; the majority live in apartments.

Lexington-East Fayette

This area is a predominantly Black inner-city area with low-income residents. The general feeling in this neighborhood is that it is experiencing a decline. Many structures are run-down, particularly in the area's two housing projects, and individual houses are empty and boarded-up. The number of vacant storefronts in the commerical sections is further evidence of a downward trend. While residents do have easy access to convenience stores, they feel the prices are "ridiculous." The two parks in the neighborhood are not used much by families because there is broken glass strewn in them and groups of teenagers congregate to drink and use drugs. One of the most obvious safety problems, especially for small children, is the high volume of traffic and the lack of crossing guards and traffic lights at busy intersections. None of the project's families in this area owns a home, and with the exception of a family who rents a single-family house, all the families live in duplexes or apartments.

Figure 6.1

FAMILIES OWNING THEIR OWN HOMES



Tallman-South

For the most part, Tallman-South is a depressed inner-city area with a primarily low-income and Black population. The area has many abandoned houses and empty lots. The streets are dirty and broken glass is a hazard, especially for young children. Parked cars clog the streets, and traffic speeds through the neighborhood. The commercial district, also in a state of decline, includes numerous liquor stores and bars. This area attracts people described by the project's observer as "quite down and out.....drinking alcohol from bottles wrapped in brown paper bags and talking in loud, raucous voices." According to many parents, the obvious lack of recreational facilities, the preponderance of "derelicts and roving bands of teenagers," and the presence of heavy traffic, make this neighborhood a dangerous and undesirable area in which to raise children. Two of the project's seventeen families own homes in this neighborhood, and seven live in single-family houses.

Nedrow

Nedrow is one of the two county or suburban neighborhoods; it has an almost rural atmosphere. The residents are primarily white, moderate-income families from non-ethnic backgrounds. Nedrow is a small community, surrounded by wooded areas and bordered on one side by Onondaga Creek. This creek is not fenced in and is a serious hazard for small children. The neighborhood's commercial activity is restricted to one four-lane street which bisects the area. There is little traffic on the side streets, where a residential atmosphere pervades. The houses are in good repair and many have well-kept yards with recreational equipment. There are no public recreational centers in the area, but a playground with swing sets, slides, and playing fields is located just across the creek, adjoining the neighborhood. The location, however, makes it difficult for young children to get to the park on their own. The project's observer characterized Nedrow as a place where: "At least at this time of year, a quiet peacefulness best describes the activity there." As Figure 6.1 shows, seventy percent of the project's Nedrow families own their homes and, with the exception of one apartment resident, all live in single-family houses.

Eastwood-North

Eastwood-North is a fairly well-known section of Syracuse, only two minutes from the downtown area. Its residents are primarily white, come from ethnic backgrounds, and have moderate incomes. The neighborhood has a distinct identity and appearance. Most of the homes are small, simple, and well-maintained. Single-family clapboard houses with small back yards and garages predominate and they are quite crowded together. A two-hundred unit state-funded housing project stands in contrast to the rest of the residential area. A fairly large commercial area on James Street attracts shoppers, both from within the neighborhood and from other parts of Syracuse. This section of the neighborhood has busy streets, with a great deal of traffic, making it difficult, especially for young children, to move freely. With the exception of one small park, there are no playgrounds or recreational centers. Forty percent of the project families here own their own homes and nine of the seventeen live in single-family dwellings.

Liverpool

Suburban Liverpool is similar in appearance to a small New England village with its meticulously maintained older houses and yards along quiet tree-lined streets. The area has primarily white middle income families from non-ethnic backgrounds. Residents enjoy a beautiful view of Onondaga Lake and the use of many green recreational areas. Commercial enterprises are centered in one very active section of the village. Even though most project families in Liverpool own cars, they found it important to live within walking distance of stores and high quality schools. As one observer put it, this area provides "the best of both city and country living." Close to ninety percent of the project's Liverpool families own their own single-family homes, as Figure 6.1 shows.

Tipperary Hill

Tipperary Hill, the observer wrote, is a "quiet community where people respect one another's property." The residents are middle income people from white, ethnic backgrounds. Tipperary Hill is primarily a city residential area, although there are occasional restaurants, churches, and bars. The streets are lined with one- and two-family houses with occasional houses divided into apartments. The homes are all in fairly good condition, and many have well-kept yards with swings and other recreational equipment. The neighborhood borders one of the city's finest parks. Some of the streets are fairly heavilv traveled, but traffic is slowed by frequent traffic lights and stop signs. The observer noted that there were a number of people outside -- school children, mothers walking young children, and old people shoveling snow -- and that their activities and interchanges were characterized by "an air of friendliness." About half of the project's Tipperary Hill families own their homes. Six of the sixteen families live in apartments.

Schiller-Wadsworth

Schiller-Wadsworth is a residential neighborhood of comfortable-looking houses on tree-lined streets within the city. The families are primarily of middle-income status and have white ethnic backgrounds. All the commercial activity is located in one area and consists of small shops; there are no factories or offices. The houses are all for one or two families and are in good repair; the area's one apartment building is not conspicuous. Traffic was observed to be "virtually non-existent" on the majority of streets. Schiller Park, one of Syracuse's safer parks, is located here. It is large and contains a variety of recreational facilities. Overall this neighborhood is a homogeneous residential area, which one the observer characterized as "close to the city but far removed from it in terms of the daily activity of the neighborhood." About seventy-five percent of the project's families here own their own homes, and only three of the sixteen live in apartments.

Westcott-Thornden

Westcott-Thornden is one of the more diverse urban neighborhoods in the sample in terms of physical as well as demographic characteristics. It is a racially mixed area with middle- and some low-income families. This neighborhood contains residential sections of one- and two-family homes, apartment buildings, and public housing, and there is also a diverse commercial area. The majority of houses seem to be in good condition; the privately owned, single-family homes are in the best state of repair. Scattered throughout the area are a number of "half-way houses" and "transitional living" facilities which contain people recently released from state institutions for the handicapped and mentally ill. This neighborhood also contains a large park with a number of recreational facilities. Although this park is fairly well maintained, it is not regarded as especially safe. The project's observer characterized much of the area as not "well-defined" or homogeneous. Close to eighty percent of the project's families own their own homes here; five families live in apartments.

Salt Springs

Salt Springs is an integrated, middle-income area. It is described by the observer as a "nice neighborhood:" relatively clean, quiet, and safe. Most of the homes are in good repair and provide adequate living space inside as well as porches and yards outside. There are several attractive apartment complexes surrounded by grassy areas. The one park in the area is maintained and used frequently by families. The grocery stores within the neighborhood are described by the residents as "too expensive," while ones outside it are seen as "too far away." The major commercial strip, located along a busy thoroughfare, is fairly inaccessible to pedestrians. Eight of the project's families here live in apartments, and as Figure 6.1 shows, half own their homes.

Geographic and Physical Characteristics of Program Neighborhoods and Their Implications for Childrearing

Geographic Considerations

To obtain the parents' perceptions of their neighborhoods as places to raise a family, each respondent was asked a series of open-ended and semi-structured questions. The series began with an inquiry about the area's name and specific boundaries; this question was followed by a general question about how the neighborhood is as a place to live with a three-year-old child. The series continued with queries about neighborhood people,

Neighborhoods with a majority agreeing on the name	Neighborhoods without a majority agreeing on the name
Tallman South (known as South Side)	LBJ
Nedrow	Lexington-East Fayette
Eastwood	Westcott-Thornden
Liverpool	Salt Springs
Tipperary Hill	
Schiller Wadsworth (known as North Side)	

With Shakespeare, we have to ask "What's in a name?" In this instance it appears as though, in several cases, the common names spring as much from history, geographic boundaries, and perhaps the settlement patterns of immigrant and racial groups as they do from area-wide psychological unity. This is especially so in the case of Tallman-South and Schiller-Wadsworth, which were given names encompassing such enormous geographic areas that they are questionable as neighborhood labels. The examination of the neighborhood boundaries respondents described also raises questions about the psychological unity of the geographic entities. With exception of places with clear physical and sometimes governmental boundaries, such as Tipperary Hill, Nedrow, and Liverpool, there was little consensus among the parents in a neighborhood about its boundaries.

Although there are not many statements about why parents label and define their neighborhoods as they do, the few that do exist hint at a distinction between the larger space traditionally known as Tipperary Hill or the South Side, and a much smaller functional area often confined to a few nearby streets or to a radius of a few blocks. After dutifully naming the streets that bound their larger neighborhoods, many parents then went on to qualify with the statement that "I just think of it as being right here, my block," or this project, apartment complex, or street. The parents' responses to the subsequent questions about their neighborhoods also indicate that many are referring to a smaller area than the larger boundaries marked by the project.

To get a sense of the range of a neighborhood for the project's children and families, it is necessary to go beyond physical maps and boundaries to maps of a more social and psychological nature. Neighborhood residents, as Suttles (1972) notes, have carefully developed cognitive maps of their neighborhoods which allow them to negotiate the territory. They differentiate between people and areas that are safe or unsafe. Such cognitive maps "are a creative imposition on the city," he argues, "because they provide a final solution to decision-making where there are often no other clear cutoffs for determining how far social contacts should go" (p. 22). People develop "defended neighborhoods" to set themselves off from others and to give them some sense of control over their social and physical space (Suttles, 1972). Suttles argues that the defended neighborhood reflects more than simply racial or ethnic factors, and that its site varies according to the sense of control of the residents. In dangerous urban areas, the residents' "defended neighborhood" tends to be smaller than in a suburb. The defended neighborhood is a complex concept; it encompasses aspects of size, safety, comfort, and social control.

When examining the program neighborhoods, it is clear that people's cognitive maps and evaluations of their neighbornoods vary by their sense of control and their feelings of security. In the lower-income neighborhoods, for example LBJ, the area tends to be described as limited in geographic and social scope; mothers feel they cannot control the influences on their children and worry and attempt to restrict children accordingly. Residents feel little control over their surroundings and express feelings of isolation. Several of the ethnic white areas and the two suburban areas, by contrast, afford the residents a large sense of control; these neighborhoods are "village-like areas" where residents report they are able to guarantee safe and desirable surroundings and associates for their children. Within limits then, the data suggest that a family's neighborhood range, defined in terms of detailed knowledge and personal mobility, is likely to be positively related to the area's socioeconomic status. Restriction of knowledge about the neighborhood and movement within it has a number of implications for family activities, some of which will be explored in the following examination of the physical aspects of the program neighborhoods.

Neighborhood Physical Characteristics

The information parents provided about the physical characteristics of their neighborhoods falls into several categories: general descriptive characteristics; comments on the condition of property; issues of access and utility of local services; and factors that affect the child's play and range of mobility.

General Descriptions - In the low-income areas only a few parents took the opportunity provided by an open-ended question to comment on their physical surroundings. The descriptions were along the lines of a Lexington-East Fayette mother's that "everything's burnt up or torn down" and a Tallman-South mother's view that her neighborhood has "a lot of raggedy houses and broken glass." More detailed description of and enthusiasm for the neighborhood and housing are much less evident in low-income areas, where people have less control over where they live than in higher income areas. Welfare places an allocations ceiling on rent; as a result, the choice of dwellings for poorer families is limited. Perhaps the fact that the families living in the lower-income area are not even harsher in their descriptions of their neighborhoods is evidence of a coping strategy designed to handle limited housing options. This is clearly the process operating for several of the single mothers in Lexington-East Fayette, for example. After providing negative descriptions, they concluded their remarks about their neighborhoods thus:

> If I could move into a nicer place I would, but I can't so this is home and it's okay. I've seen worse places where people live, so I guess it's okay. I mean I won't die if I can't move.
>
> I'm surviving. I would like things to be better, but... I'm surviving.
>
> It's not good, but it's the best I can do for now.
>
> It's okay -- besides, right now, where else am I going?

Parents in the more affluent neighborhoods, where the physical conditions are better, were likely to begin their neighborhood comments with statements that the area is "pretty," "like the country in the city," or that it has a "family atmosphere" or "residential character." They were also likely to talk about the fact they liked the area because neighbors "kept up their property." In moderate- and middle-income areas, such as Nedrow, Liverpool and Westcott-Thornden, many of the families are proud of their houses and neighborhoods and describe their surroundings with pleasure.

Noise - There was little difference in the reported noise levels across neighborhoods. Many people described their area as quiet; the exceptions usually lived next door to loud stereos or near bars and night spots. Families in LBJ, Lexington-East Fayette, Tallman-South, and Tipperary Hill complained about bars and liquor stores because of the people they attract, the noise, and the "hangout syndrome".

Resources and Facilities - In response to questions about whether or not the area has the services and facilities the family needs, people mentioned food, drug and department stores, places to play including parks and playgrounds, nearby schools, libraries and churches, and recreation centers. In the three low-income areas some parents felt that the commercial areas were too far away; however, more said that although stores were available, they were too expensive. Therefore, families tried to shop outside the neighborhood, especially for food.

Parks and Playgrounds - The majority of the parents in the seven moderate- and middle-income neighborhoods report that they have access to parks and playgrounds for their children. Several of the areas either contain parks or have them close by. Schiller Park, reportedly one of the safer in the city, is a block outside the Schiller-Wadsworth neighborhood's boundaries; area children also play at the Webster Elementary School facilities. Tipperary Hill has Burnett Park, one of the city's larger park and recreation areas. Liverpool has a park bordering Onondaga Lake and playground facilities at St. Joseph's School. The Westcott-Thornden area has access to Thornden Park, but it is not known as one of the safer city parks. Eastwood, Nedrow, and Salt Springs have small park areas or school yards; Nedrow parents particularly mention the desire for more recreational space for children.

Two of three lower-income areas have park facilities, but the parents report that they are too dangerous to use. LBJ has Lincoln Park, but it is dominated by teenagers who drag-race, drink and get involved with drugs. Lexington-East Fayette has Columbus Park, but it has similar problems of congregations of teenagers drinking and smoking "grass." Tallman-South has no major outdoor facilities except those attached to local schools and day care facilities. It does contain the South-West Community Center which has some recreational facilities; however, a number of project parents will not let their children go there. "I really don't like the center," one mother said, "because the kids that hang out there are so rowdy." Several echoed another mother's sentiments that "it's too wild there. The kids are wild. I don't let my kids go there." Some of the white parents in Lexington-East Fayette and Tallman-South, two neighborhoods where white parents are in the minority, mentioned that racial problems kept them out of the park and recreation centers. Parents in other neighborhoods sometimes mentioned problems with teenagers also; for example, one Eastwood mother said her area needed a "decent park" because "the one we have has been taken over by teenagers and there's broken glass everywhere." Her daughter got badly cut there last year.

The parents' descriptions of their parks and public recreational areas suggest two points. First, adolescents are perceived as an important and constraining aspect of neighborhood ecology, overall, but particularly in the low-income areas. Second, again in the low-income areas, parks and recreation facilities more often than not fall into the physically available but functionally unavailable category.

Schools - In addition to parks and stores, a number of parents mentioned other services and facilities important to a neighborhood. A majority of those in Liverpool and Salt Springs reported the value of having the school close by; one Liverpool mother said that the fact that her child could walk to school was one of the major reasons they chose to live in that area. A few Nedrow, Westcott-Thornden, Schiller-Wadsworth, and LBJ parents also evaluated their neighborhoods favorably because of the school's proximity. Liverpool and Salt Springs parents frequently mentioned the value and accessibility of the local library and its special programs for children. Across the neighborhoods, a few fathers noted that their residences were close to work which enabled them to come home for lunch.

Traffic and Safety - In addition to the availability of parks, playgrounds and other facilities for children and families, the parents mentioned other factors which also influence access to the world outside the house or apartment, specifically: traffic, sidewalks, perceptions of physical safety, and the like. The neighborhoods where more than a few parents mention traffic problems and issues such as cars not stopping at stop signs, include LBJ, Eastwood, Liverpool and Tipperary Hill. However, at least one or two parents in every neighborhood mention traffic problems and ways in which they limit the children's activity. Traffic is a very localized problem so there is a great deal of variance in the opinions of people within an area about it. For example, slightly less than half of the Nedrow parents said that traffic was not a problem, and that their children even played in the street. One Nedrow mother living close to the four-lane highway bisecting the area, however, worried a great deal about her child wandering into the street and restricted her child's movements accordingly. Neighborhoods with commercial areas were sometimes faulted because of the extra traffic commerce attracted. Broken glass on the sidewalks and abandoned and boarded-up houses in the lower-income neighborhoods were an additional source of concern to area parents. Finally, in Nedrow, several parents mentioned their fear of a local unfenced creek where children have drowned in the past.

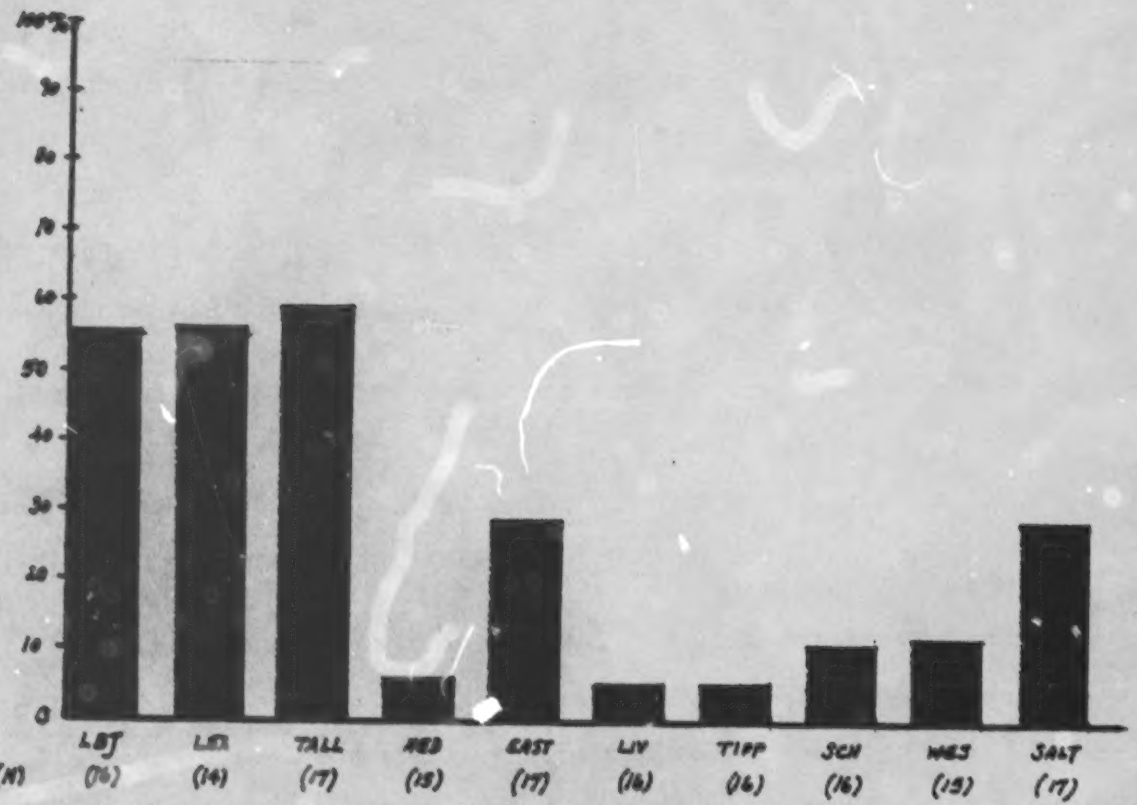
The traffic or other obstacles a number of parents reported meant that their children could not play in the area alone and unsupervised. In the words of a Lexington-East Fayette father, "my son cannot go outside by himself, I have to go out and watch him." This in turn means a double restriction for the child: he or she cannot go out except at those times when a parent can find the time to go along. Perhaps this is why so many project families speak of their yards, especially fenced-in ones, in such glowing terms. This was true in both low- and higher-income areas. One Tallman-South mother who cannot let her child out in the area "because the people fight so much," called her fenced yard "a blessing." Many of the parents in Tipperary Hill, Schiller-Wadsworth, Nedrow, and Eastwood also mentioned the benefits of having such yards for both themselves and their children. "The kids can play outside and we don't have to watch them all the time," one Tipperary Hill father noted.

Yard and Interior Space - People who live in apartments instead of single-family homes are often at a disadvantage in terms of a yard. One single mother living in an apartment above a store in Tipperary Hill cannot let her child play outside because the street is too busy and she has no yard. She says her situation is "isolating for both of us" and for relief she takes her child to her mother's home outside the area to play. Several parents who have recently moved from city apartments to more residential areas commented on the benefits of safe outside space; "When I lived on W. Onondaga Street, in the city, I couldn't even let my son out of the apartment alone" one Nedrow resident said, and now "I don't have to worry about that so much here." Newson and Newson (1968) in their study of four-year-old children in an English city also noted the importance of such safe outside space. They found that one of the biggest benefits for families who moved to houses on the large housing estates was the yard, "a place where toddlers can play in the open air but away from traffic, with a gate you can shut" (pg. 37). The benefits were two-fold; fresh air for children and peace of mind for parents.

As Figures 6.1 and 6.2 show, low-income areas are least likely to have program families who own their own homes with accompanying yards. Ten of the fourteen families in Lexington-East Fayette mentioned that their small children had no place to play and, coincidentally, six noted that their apartments were too small. The result is likely to be the further disadvantage that it is harder for these parents and children to get away from each other, something many parents in the course of the interviews mentioned was important. The result, as one Lexington-

Figure 6.2

FAMILIES WHO DO NOT OWN CARS
(Percentages)



Program Neighborhoods

East Fayette mother described it, is "like living somewhere really cooped-up and very unhappy with no place for the kids to play." The inability to send the children outside to play without risking harm, combined with cramped housing space, may create a situation in which parent and child are more likely to get on one another's nerves. Newson and Newson (1968) make a similar point about the strain of cramped quarters and the lack of safe outside space for English families with pre-schoolers (pg. 40). The benefits of a house and yard for the Syracuse families are nicely summarized by two Tallman-South mothers:

> We have four bedrooms and a large back yard so we have enough space. When the kids get on my nerves I can always go into another room and close the door.
>
> We all love this house. My daughter loves it here because she's got all the space.... If I want some privacy, I can just go upstairs... I can always get away from my children's noise....

As these two examples from a low-income area demonstrate, some low-income families do have adequate housing; overall, however, difficulties posed by the inadequate housing and other physical characteristics such as dangerous area parks, are likely to fall disproportionately on low-income families concentrated in low-income neighborhoods.

Parental Concepts of Good and Bad Neighborhoods

Regardless of neighborhood, there was a high degree of consensus about the properties of desirable and undesirable neighborhoods. The characteristics which were perceived as supportive by the parents include safe and nearby parks, sidewalks and fenced-in yards, accessible stores and services, and clean, safe places to play. The presence of glass and gangs in the park, unfenced creeks, busy streets, expensive and "gouging" stores, and unsafe play areas are sources of stress. Further, these physical characteristics affect families at two levels. First, they can make people, places, and activities for young children more or less accessible. Second, by restricting or enlarging the opportunities for the children, they can create "breathing space" or alternatively, extra tension for parents. The importance of these physical characteristics should not be underrated; when they are problematic they can create a great deal of daily stress.

In the parents' perceptions and evaluations of their neighborhoods, however, it is apparent that at least for these Syracuse parents, it's the people who make the neighborhood and have the most impact on parenting and children's activities. Furthermore, it is clear that relationships among neighbors can go a long way toward ameliorating or exacerbating the effects of exceedingly difficult physical environments. We turn now to an examination of the social characteristics of the ten program neighborhoods.

The Social Characteristics of Neighbors and Neighborhoods

Much of what parents had to say about their neighborhoods involved their neighbors, both the immediate ones and those more distant ones who help to create the atmosphere of the area.

In this section we examine the social characteristics of the ten neighborhoods, using both demographic data about program families and parents' perceptions and evaluations of the others in their environment. These social characteristics are viewed in terms of their perceived and hypothesized impact on both children and parents.

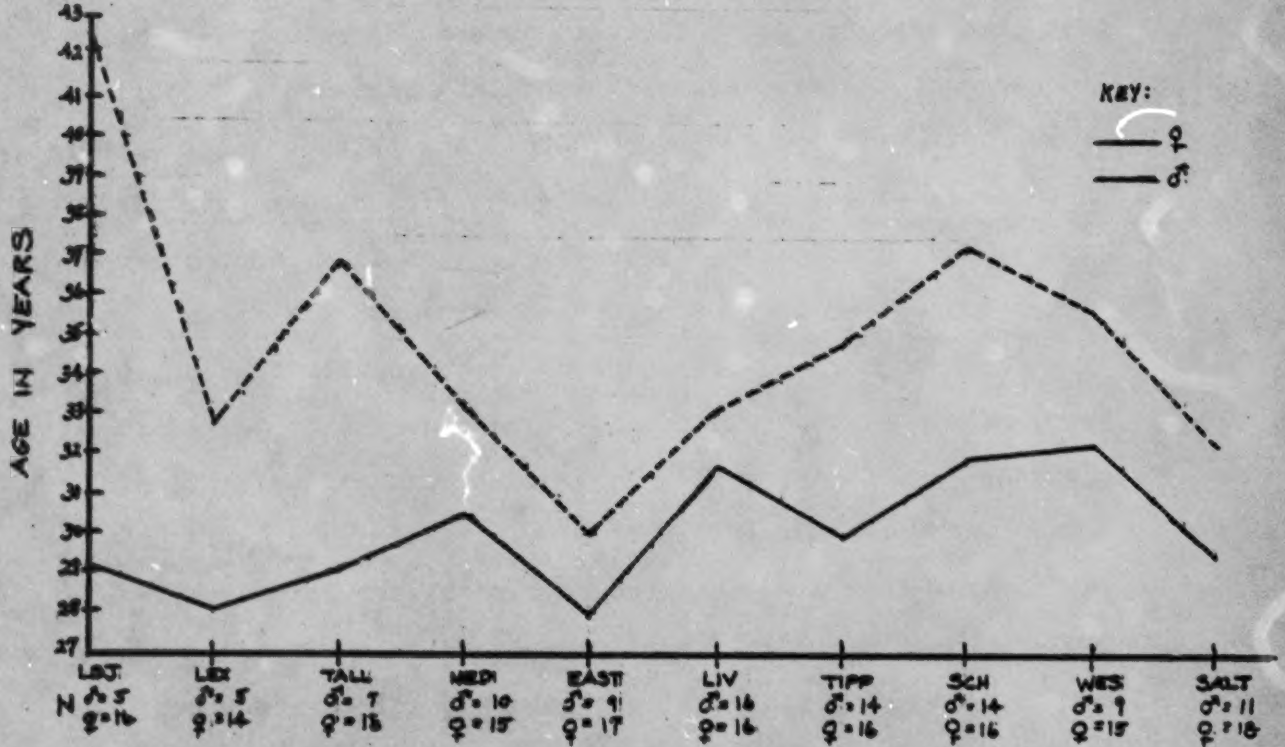
Ages of Residents

One of the most frequently used parental criteria for neighborhood evaluation is the ages of both adults and children in surrounding families. The majority of program families are in their 20's and 30's, as shown in Figure 6.3. Eastwood tends to have the youngest parents and Liverpool and Schiller-Wadsworth the oldest ones. Many relatively young families in the process of raising at least one pre-school child complained that there are not enough other young families around. There was at least one such parental complaint in each neighborhood, but the majority came from the moderate- and middle-income areas of Eastwood, Liverpool, and Schiller-Wadsworth. Parents in the low-income neighborhoods rarely mentioned neighbor's ages, perhaps because there are not many older residents in these areas of fairly high population mobility. While this may be the case, overall it is not clear how accurate a reflection the parents' perceptions are of an area's actual age composition; accuracy may decrease the farther one moves from the residence and face block. This would help to explain the tendency toward variation in the complaint

Figure 6.3

AVERAGE AGE OF RESPONDENTS

(All Females and Married Males)



about neighbors' ages within neighborhoods. In the case of Eastwood-North, for example, six families complained because there were no young families around, only older ones with adolescent or grown children. But three families, geographically interspersed with the first group, commented they liked the area because in the words of one: "We're all young with similar lifestyles." Perhaps the different perceptions are also explained by the fact that the area is in flux; as several parents noted, more younger families are seen as moving into Eastwood and Schiller-Wadsworth. Finally, variation within the neighborhood, especially in those instances in which people who live close by to one another have dissimilar views, may be a reflection of personal gregariousness or lack of opportunity to meet others.

The comments and explanations which sometimes accompanied the statements about age provide some clues as to the costs and benefits of having older neighbors, and by implication, of younger ones. Older people were viewed as more quiet, but at the same time as wanting quiet, and therefore, to be less "tolerant" of children. Some parents tried to restrain their children in anticipation of problems with older neighbors; one Tipperary Hill father fenced in his yard to keep the children out of the neighbor's hair. Other parents find themselves in trouble when their children make noise; "The women next door are old and go to sleep at 6 p.m.," one Eastwood mother said, "and they get upset if my kids are making noise after that."

A more common problem is that the parents feel they have "nothing in common" with older residents. "There are a lot of older people in the neighborhood and we don't have much in common and, as a result we feel a little isolated," a Liverpool father explained, and his views are shared by many parents. Others feel that older neighbors decrease sociability. After describing his older neighbors as "all right," an Eastwood-North father said, "...we don't visit or have parties with our neighbors because they're not our age." A Schiller-Wadsworth mother summed up the explicit or implicit sentiments of several others when she said she has "little in common" with her older neighbors and as a result "it's not a place where I have people that I can really be friends with." Several Tipperary Hill parents explained they did not know their neighbors because they are older and "keep to themselves." The lack of people with age and other concerns in common was the main reason one Eastwood-North family was moving to a new housing development in the suburbs, where they felt "our son will have kids to play with and we'll meet couples our own age." This latter point, the lack of playmates, is a natural and oft-mentioned drawback of older neighbors.

As one would anticipate, the lack of playmates was mentioned particularly by parents in Eastwood, Liverpool, and Schiller-Wadsworth. A few parents in Nedrow and Tipperary Hill also noted the problem of an inadequate number of agemates for their children. In Westcott-Thornden and Salt Springs, the majority of parents expressed satisfaction that their three-year-olds had neighborhood peers.

Parents in the low-income areas rarely said that their children had no agemates to play with; their concerns with their children's peers fall in the available but functionally unavailable category. This subject will be addressed in the next section on the social ecology of neighborhoods.

Although only a few families in the ten areas mentioned a close friendship with an elderly neighbor, a number of people who were critical also cited benefits accruing from older neighbors and residence in areas with mixed age groups. Several were pleased that their three-year-old had access to older people; as a Liverpool mother put it, "I like that he can see and talk to our older people on the block." A father in the same neighborhood felt that his older neighbors helped "to fill the void of grandparents for my kids." Some parents also mentioned that their kids were the only youngsters around and therefore benefited from special attention from older neighbors who "love kids." "They enjoy her 'cause she's the only young kid," a Nedrow mother said; her daughter regularly visits from house to house chatting and collecting cookies and attention from older admirers.

Elderly neighbors were also described sometimes as helping with overall neighborhood safety. These older neighbors, like those described by a Schiller-Wadsworth father, have the time "to keep an eye on our kids whenever they see them outside playing." On a Tallman-South father's block, he said, "There are mostly older people who stay at home all day and can therefore keep an eye on things... There are a lot of burglaries in the neighborhood but we feel okay on this block because of the neighbors' help."

Many of the families who mention the older people in their neighborhoods express the wish for a mixture of ages. An Eastwood-North mother echoed the sentiments of others when she said that "I like older people but it would be nice if there were some young families, more people I'd have things in common with and with children my child's age." Several parents in Westcott-Thornden and Salt Springs, two of the more ethnically and racially diverse program neighborhoods, spoke very positively about having a variety of age groups in the area.

The data on neighbor's ages suggest that there may be at least the potential for different neighborhood dynamics depending on whether or not a family has age and life cycle stage in common with others. The interviews hint that when there are pairs or larger numbers of younger families, there is more likelihood not only of sociability and friendship but of reciprocal exchanges. In her area of Eastwood-North, one mother observed, more young families were moving in "so that there is a younger group and we depend on each other." A Westcott-Thornden father mentioned that after a period of not getting involved with the older people in the immediate area, he and his wife have found "that we have common interests with other young parents around here..." and, "that's especially helpful to my wife because she can talk with them or leave our three-year-old with a neighbor while she goes out for a short while." "Before," he added, "we didn't think we could ask neighbors for favors like that, now we do." A Liverpool father living among older people made a further distinction; he likes his neighbors but relies on them "for material things rather than emotional support." These and similar comments suggest that while older people are often spoken of as good, if not close neighbors, they are less of a source of support to program families than some parents believe that neighbors of the same age might be.

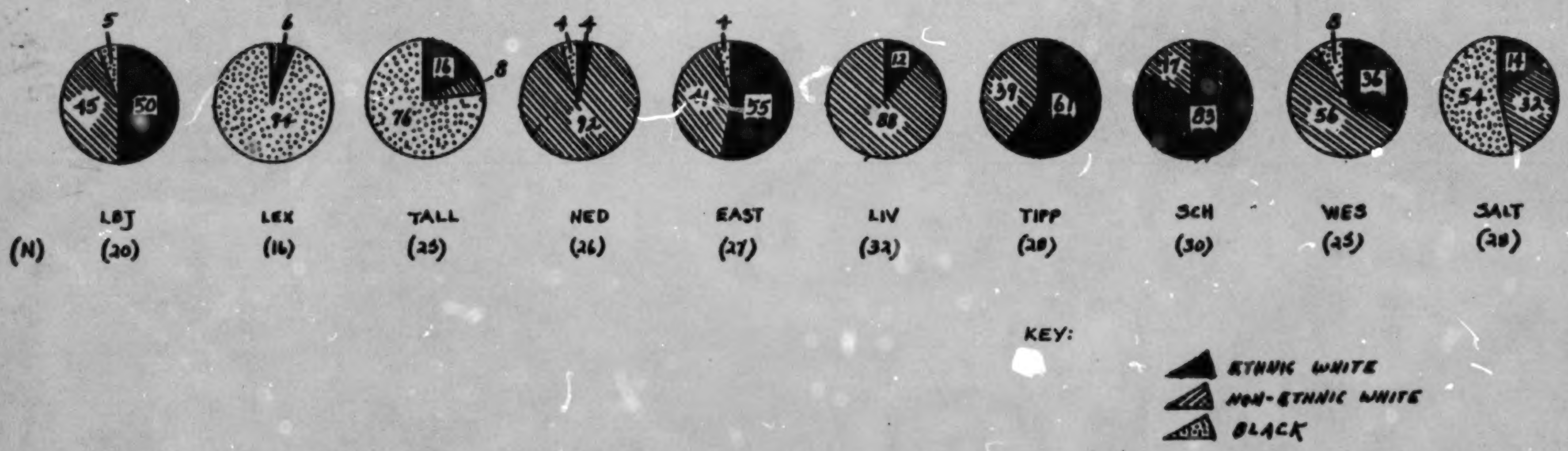
Ethnic and Racial Composition

The ten program neighborhoods contain different combinations of racial and ethnic groups; some families perceive racial or ethnic composition as a benefit, while others percieve it as an important stress. Figure 6.4 shows the distribution of race and ethnicity of program families across the ten neighborhoods. Black families are concentrated in two low-income neighborhoods (Lexington-East Fayette and Tallman-South) where white families are in the minority. Salt Springs also has a majority of Black families but is more evenly divided. There are no Black project families in Liverpool, Tipperary Hill or Schiller-Wadsworth, and they are in the minority in LBJ, Nedrow, Eastwood, and Westcott-Thornden.

In two of the middle-income neighborhoods, Westcott-Thornden and Salt Springs, the majority of families reported that the neighborhood's racial and ethnic mixture was an advantage. Nine Salt Springs families evaluated their area's racial, ethnic, and age diversity very positively. The area "seems to have successfully integrated," one father said, and according to

Figure 6.4

RACE/ETHNICITY OF ALL FEMALES AND MARRIED MALES
(Percentages)



another, "There's diversity in everything -- people (their ages and backgrounds), architecture, lifestyles." Four of these respondents then went on to point out benefits for their children, specifically:

> -My son will know people of different backgrounds -- Black, white, Vietnamese.
>
> -My child will have the opportunity to relate to other races and won't grow up with prejudices, as I did, and won't have built in fear of other groups.
>
> -It's ... wonderful, my son has Black friends in the neighborhood and at school and will see they're ordinary people like everyone else.
>
> -I like the fact that my child will be exposed to many different people and life styles.

Six Westcott-Thornden respondents made similar comments about the racially and ethnically mixed character of their area and several noted the beneficial effects for their children in both the present and in the future.

The fact that an area is racially mixed is viewed less positively by a few of the white parents in LBJ and Tallman-South. These parents spoke about Black gangs who restrict movement and jeopardize their family's safety.

Socioeconomic Status

The majority of the comments about neighbor's socioeconomic status concern care of property and occasionally shared childrearing values. The mention of property maintenance is a moderate- and middle-income area phenomenon and is mainly evident in Liverpool, Tipperary Hill, and Schiller-Wadsworth. "We never have any troubles here," one Tipperary Hill mother said, "I have nice neighbors, they never bother each other, and they all keep their houses up." This was repeated by other Tipperary Hill parents who noted that "people keep up their houses," and that "my neighbors work and take care of their property and themselves." In the words of a Schiller-Wadsworth father, his neighbors are "good, clean people who care about their property." Several Liverpool parents connected property maintenance and their neighbor's socioeconomic status to the childrearing climate. As one father put it, "The people here are a much better influence on our child than in the old neighborhood. They take care of their houses and have high standards." Another father said that the neighbors are from the same socioeconomic background that he is and that he "likes the fact that most of them are good, respectable citizens so I won't have to worry about them being a bad influence on him." His wife said she would "trade some of them in for higher socioeconomic status people with three-year-old children." Parents in the moderate- and middle-income areas were much more likely to speak of co-residents who share the same values -- whether in regard to property maintenance, childrearing values, or neighboring.

Marital Status

One social characteristic very infrequently mentioned was marital status. When it was mentioned in the context of the neighborhood, it was either in relation to stigma on the child or the family's safety. An LBJ single mother reported that the neighbor's children pick on her son because he does not have a father, and a Tallman-South mother had a similar complaint. More often, however, single mothers worried about their safety, especially in the three low-income areas, where, as Table 6.1 shows, they tend to be concentrated. These neighborhoods sometimes have "a lot of drunks staggering around," "vandalism and robbery," and bars where "there is a fight almost every night and rough people hanging around on the street." Several of the single women reported incidents not unlike those of these two LBJ mothers:

> -We had a small incident that kind of scared the heck out of me. Some drunk for some reason thought we had his carton of cigarettes because he couldn't find them and he threatened to break through our door...he was a big guy and the police had to wrestle him to get him off our porch.
>
> -People knock on my door at night. It can be real creepy because everyone around here knows that I'm alone, they know there isn't a man here to protect us. How do I know that they won't try to come in here?

As was the case in the parks, many of these mothers in the three low-income areas also complain about the gangs of kids who hang out.

Crime and Safety

Issues of personal safety and fears of people in the neighborhood come up fairly frequently in the three low-income areas, regardless of marital status. These concerns and fears have a clear impact on both children's activities and parents' sense of well-being. "I can't even let my kids go out and play unless me or my husband

Table 6.1

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF MOTHERS

PROGRAM NEIGHBORHOODS	N	% LIVE WITH HUSBANDS	% LIVE ALONE	% LIVE WITH PARTNERS	% LIVE WITH PARENTS
LBJ TRIANGLE [LOW INCOME/CITY/MIXED]	16	38	50	6	6
LEXINGTON/E. FAYETTE [LOW INCOME/CITY/BLACK]	14	36	43	0	21
TALLMAN SOUTH [LOW INCOME/CITY/BLACK]	17	41	41	18	0
NEDROW [MOD/SUB/NON ETHNIC WHITE]	15	66	7	7	20
EASTWOOD NORTH [MOD/CITY/ETHNIC WHITE]	17	53	35	12	0
LIVERPOOL [MIDDLE/SUBURB/NON ETHNIC WHITE]	16	100	0	0	0
TIPPERARY HILL [MIDDLE/CITY/ETHNIC WHITE]	16	87	13	0	0
SCHILLER/WADSWORTH [MIDDLE/CITY/ETHNIC WHITE]	16	88	0	6	6
WESCOTT/THORNDEN [MIDDLE/CITY/MIXED]	15	60	26	7	7
SALT SPRINGS [MIDDLE/CITY/BLACK]	18	61	22	17	0

go out and watch them," a mother in Lexington-East Fayette said; "the teenagers smoke reefers in the hallways and drink wine, and I don't want my kids exposed to that." A Tallman-South woman reported that "around here everything in the world goes on -- robbery, rape, dope, everything." She went on to explain that the way she copes with this is to limit where her children can go. "They can only play in the front yard and there are only two families they are allowed to visit...." A number of parents in these areas report narrowing their geographical and social range as a coping strategy. The following statement by one Tallman-South mother represents the views of a number of parents in the lower-income areas. "We're not that safe...there are a lot of criminals on the South Side. We mostly stay in the house and keep to ourselves." In sum, people are reluctant to let their children play in a very wide area and they live with the daily stresses involved in concern for family safety.

Occasionally parents in the moderate- and middle-income areas mentioned issues of personal safety, but burglary and theft are more frequent issues. In response to questions about neighborhood safety, people in those neighborhoods typically responded that:

> -It's pretty safe. You've got punky kids here like everywhere else. We don't feel scared here. (Eastwood-North)
>
> -It's a decent neighborhood. Of course I still worry about them when they are outside, but that's because of the times we live in, not this neighborhood. (Tipperary Hill)
>
> -It's safe. There's occasional vandalism but that happens all over. (Schiller-Wadsworth)

> -If someone broke in, somebody else would see it and report it. At least in this section of the neighborhood, everybody's involved and would look out. (Schiller-Wadsworth)

One index of the fact that these areas are usually perceived as relatively safe is that parents more often answered the safety question in terms of traffic, not crime. The exception to this is Westcott-Thornden, a neighborhood which residents perceive as a high crime area for both person and property. Safety is often mentioned as an issue here but many parents also report that danger is minimized through a mutual help strategy. "It's pretty rough here, but people watch out for each other," was a frequent observation. The latter sentiment was expressed by some parents in all neighborhoods, although much less frequently in the three lower-income ones.

Social Distance Between Neighbors

Safety is one aspect of a more general and persistent theme involving the intrusiveness of neighbors. Along with the regulation of neighborhood space, parents are concerned about regulating social distance. This is initially evident because the majority of parents make some kind of comment about interpersonal distance and neighbors, whether it be in terms of the neighbors' noisiness, the need for privacy, minding one's own business, antagonism to coffee klatches, or close personal friendships with neighbors. These perceptions are suggestive of the view that "people who share residential areas simply cannot ignore each other, because they are vulnerable to one another" (Suttles, 1972, pg. 50).

The most blatant form of vulnerability is evident in the handful of cases where families do not get along at all with their immediate neighbors. One's neighbors are fairly strategically placed to wage effective warfare and they can make life, as one mother put it, "hell." A few program families have such problems with immediate neighbors that they plan to move because of them. For the most part, however, the families seem to be striving for a subtle modus vivendi which allows them to balance the need for privacy with the needs for occasional assistance and at least a modicum of sociability with those in the immediate area. There appear to be neighborhood differences in the success with which families can achieve such a balance.

Personal privacy is a very salient issue in the three lower-income areas. Parents there frequently evaluate their neighborhoods on this dimension, especially in LBJ. Most often they complain of nosey neighbors; occasionally a parent will single out their area for special praise just because the neighbors are not nosey. One LBJ mother speaks for many parents when she says, "...some of them are too nosey...they watch your business and gossip all the time." A few parents in upper-income areas cited instances of nosey or gossipy neighbors, but these issues are much less frequently mentioned there. In the moderate- and middle-income neighborhoods, parents were more likely to wish there was more space between houses to provide them with greater privacy. Perhaps no one wished this more fervently than one Schiller-Wadsworth man. He said several times that he would prefer more distance between his house and others; he later revealed that "my boss lives right next door to us and that's somewhat awkward for me."

Length of Residence

The social character of a neighborhood is also a function of the length of time its residents have lived there. The ten program areas differ along this dimension primarily by socioeconomic status. Figure 6.5 shows that two of the lower-income areas (Lexington-East Fayette and Tallman-South) and one of the moderate-income areas (Eastwood-North) average less than five years of residence, the lowest tenure among the program areas. The other low-income area (LBJ) appears to have a higher average than its counterparts due to the effect of several two-parent families who have lived in the area a long time. Their tenure masks the fact that most LBJ residents have been in the area for two years or less.

The three low-income areas and Eastwood have in common concentrations of single parents (see Table 6.1) who have lived in their neighborhoods a relatively short time. This point is even clearer when one examines Figure 6.6. Here, most of the neighborhoods with higher numbers of single parents stand out: LBJ, Lexington-East Fayette, Tallman-South, Eastwood-North, and Westcott-Thornden. Case by case examination shows that the single parents do tend to be the newest residents of those neighborhoods. When one looks at only these families who have

Figure 6.5

AVERAGE NUMBER OF YEARS IN NEIGHBORHOOD

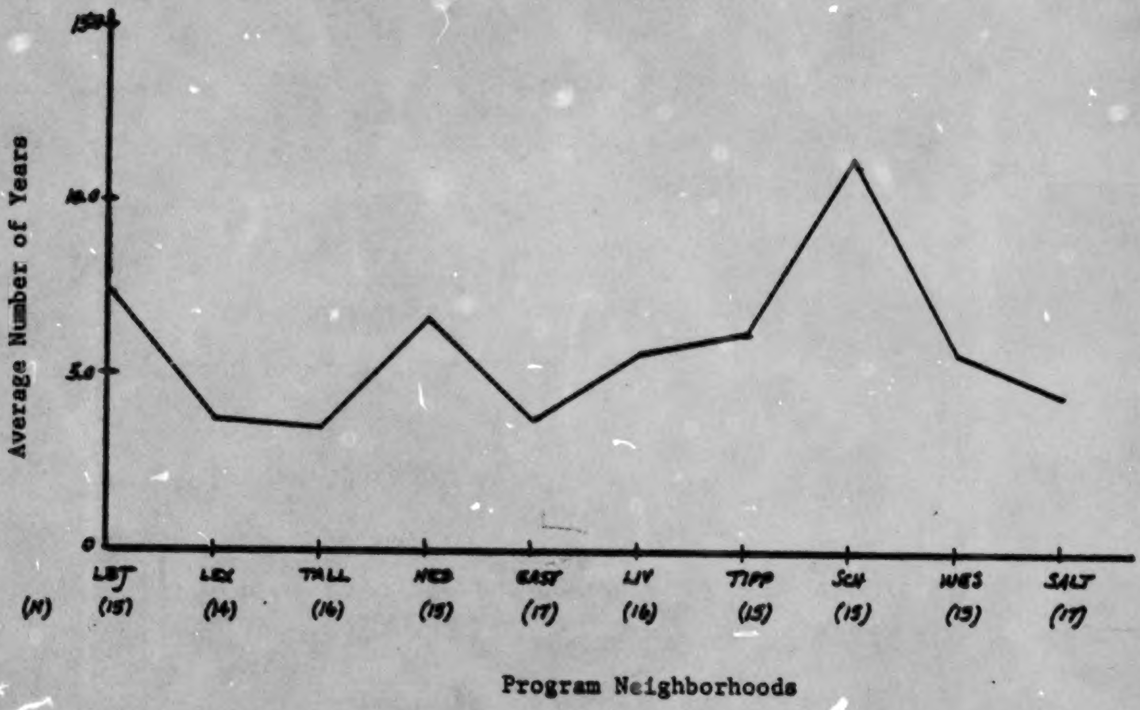
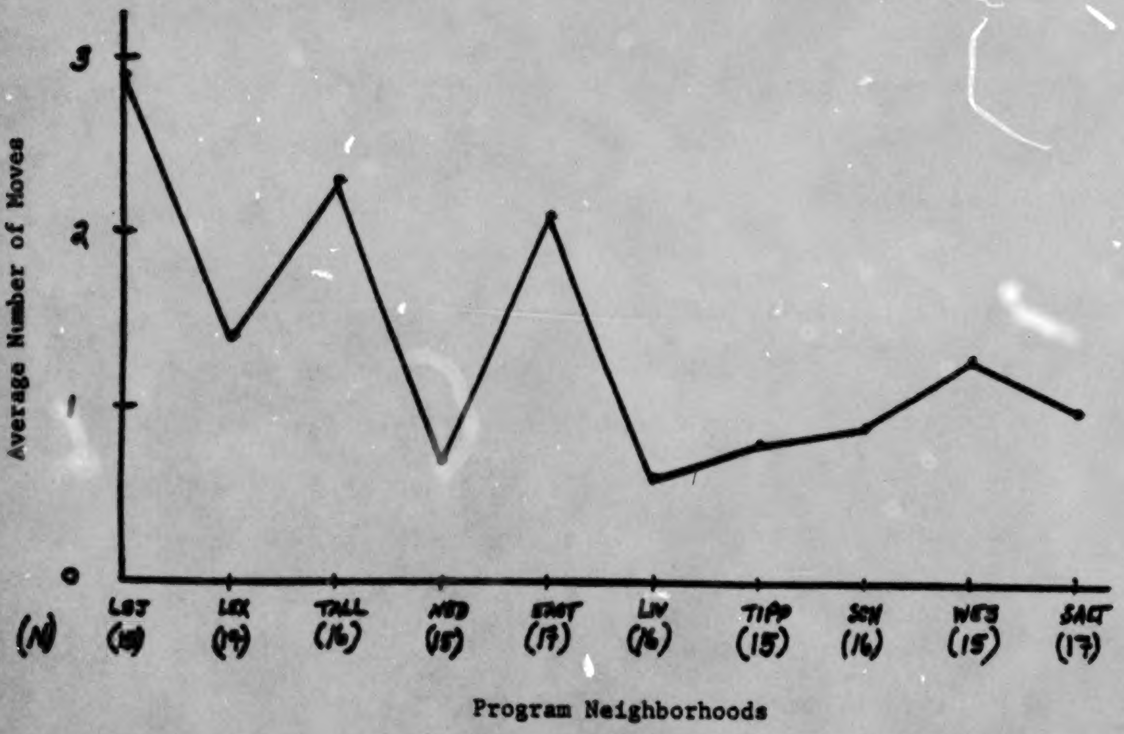


Figure 6.6

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MOVES IN LAST FOUR YEARS

(All Families)



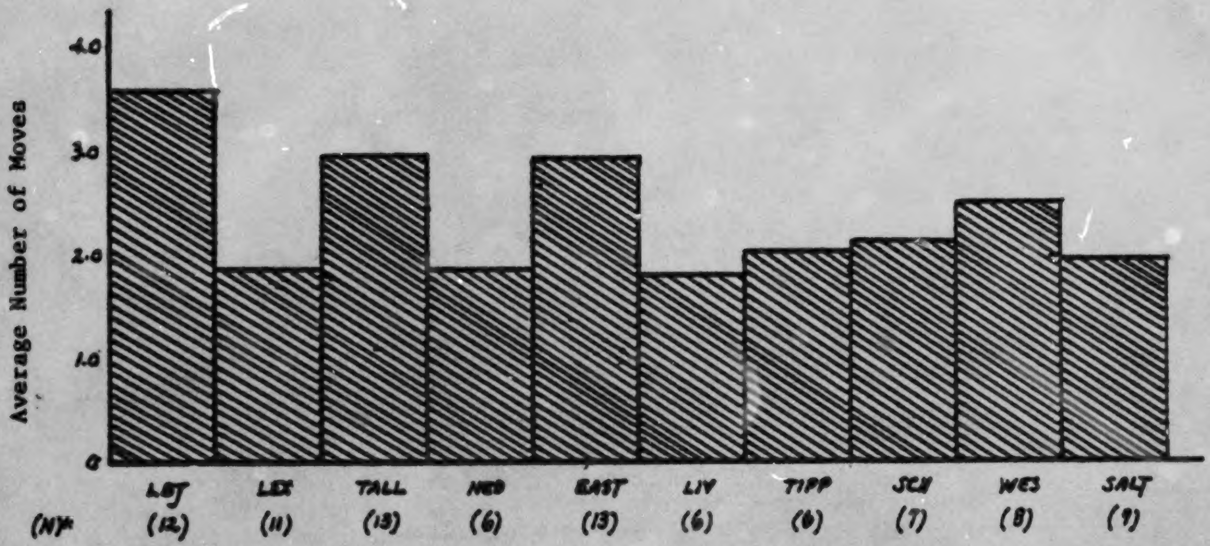
moved in the past four years, it appears from Figure 6.7 that three neighborhoods, LBJ, Tallman-South and Eastwood, contain people who have moved fairly frequently, an average of three times in four years. In contrast the program families in Nedrow, Liverpool, Tipperary Hill, Schiller-Wadsworth, and Westcott-Thornden have been fairly stable. These places contain a sprinkling of parents who have lived there all their lives, sometimes even in the same house.

The interviews suggest some of the implications of neighborhood stability for parents' perceptions of their safety and of the interpersonal supports available from the environment. In the three low-income areas, where personal safety is an issue and mobility is high, several mothers make a connection between their safety, getting to know the neighbors, and longevity. "Nobody'd hurt anybody around here," one LBJ resident of four years noted, "I know everyone, nobody'd bother me." The links are even more clear in the case of a single Tallman-South mother: "I feel secure because I've lived in the area for so long - 16 years - and believe people won't harm me or my family and won't let strangers harm us either. But if I didn't know the people, I'd be scared because this part of town has a bad reputation. But, as I said, we feel safe. I'm close to a lot of people here and we trust each other."

In the preceding section on safety, the point was made that some of the single mothers in the low-income areas were very fearful; many of these same women are short-term residents,

Figure 6.7

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MOVES IN LAST FOUR YEARS
(Among the Movers)



*(N)= Families who moved within the past four years.

many also speak of isolation and not knowing their neighbors. These mothers seem to be caught in a trap. As single mothers with the sole responsibility for child care, they could use neighborly assistance, but their high mobility gives them less time to establish relationships with neighbors who can help them to cope with a difficult environment.

The sentiments of the Tallman-South woman were echoed by a few parents in each of the areas with longer-term residents:

> -Our neighbors are great. It's an old neighborhood. I knew my neighbors when I was a little girl and now my children are meeting and getting to know them. We're a close neighborhood; so many of us have been together for a long, long time. (Liverpool)
>
> -I can't think of a better neighborhood in the city. Friendly people. Everybody knows everybody; a lot of people have lived here all their lives, including my wife. (Tipperary Hill)
>
> -When you've been here a long time you get to know them. Basically they're friendly. You become so well-acquainted it feels very secure. There's a lot of warmth with developing friendships. (Schiller-Wadsworth)
>
> -I feel safe...it's like a home feeling, as I grew up here. There are a variety of people here, yet it's also small enough so it has a sense of community. (Eastwood-North)

There are both advantages and disadvantages to this kind of neighborhood stability. On the one hand, long-term residents know their neighbors, but on the other, the seemingly most stable areas are also those where the parents were most likely to complain about older neighbors and the lack of young families and children.

The physical and social characteristics of the ten neighborhoods presented thus far provide a sense of how residents perceive their environments and how the areas differ from one another on some of the main criteria that parents deem important. The discussion to this point may give too passive an impression of neighborhoods because it has not fully captured the extent to which they operate differently as "socializing space," especially for families with young children. The social ecology of neighborhoods -- the way neighbors and neighborhood social systems help or impede the activities and development of parents and children -- remains to be explored in the next section.

The Social Ecology of Program Neighborhoods

In anticipation of the discussion of neighborhood social ecology, a point about the parent's role is necessary. Parents both act and are acted upon in their attempts to work out a relationship with their surroundings which they feel will be best for themselves and their families. How they structure that relationship is a function of a variety of elements, including: personality expectations of oneself and others in the neighboring role, judgments of neighbors and their likely impact on one's children, and estimations of how intensive or controllable the social surroundings are. The evaluation of these various elements results in a series of strategies which parents employ to control the effects of neighborhoods on their families. These strategies then in turn become part of the ecology.

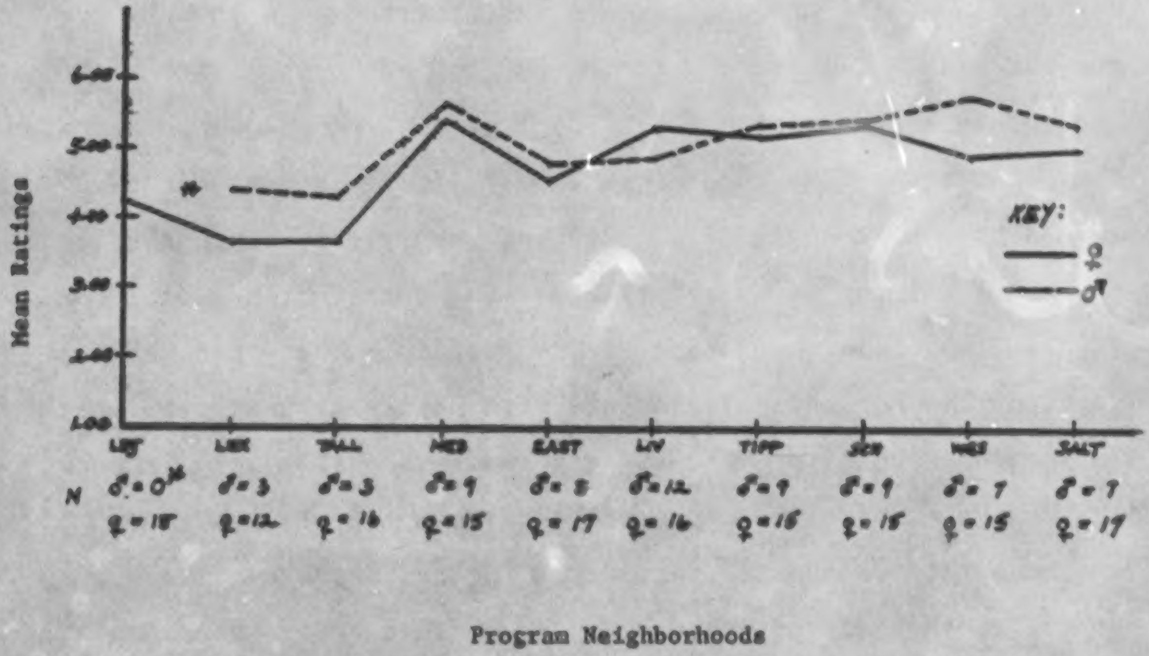
The interviews contain much information characterizing interactions with neighbors and assessing their impact on families. Many responses in the upper-income areas contain indications that systems operate in some neighborhoods to insure children's safety and care. The story is very different in the low-income areas where many parents report that they keep to themselves to minimize the effects of an environment perceived as hostile for children and families. The difference between the low-income areas on the one hand, and the moderate and middle ones on the other, is so dramatic as to require the development of many opposite analytic categories.

The Low-Income Neighborhoods

Parents' concern about the safety of the low-income neighborhoods evident in the preceding sections is accompanied by a set of worries about the negative influence of other children and adults in the environment. The parents worry about their children picking up bad habits and language, their early exposure to sex and violence, physical harm from drunks or gangs of teenagers, and the bad influence and example of other children whom they feel are allowed to "run wild." These stresses are accompanied by the lack of positive support from others around; these parents do not report that they can count on others in the area to keep an eye on the children outside or rescue them from harm. The description many of the parents give is one of an antagonistic and uncaring environment where they get little support for parenting. This is reflected in the parents' overall ratings of their neighborhoods. As Figure 6.8 shows, parents in these areas make the lowest ratings; their rating falls in the category, "Just barely on the good side."

Figure 6.8

RATINGS OF NEIGHBORHOODS BY RESPONDENTS --MALE AND FEMALE
(Scale of 1-6, Very Bad to Very Good)



About half of the parents in LBJ mentioned negative aspects of the area's interpersonal environment and social interaction. One mother, for example, felt it was not a good area for raising children because there are bars on every corner and fights almost every night. "I never know what is going to happen and I don't like the kids around these kinds of people," she said, "they're just a bad influence." She feels that the bars affect area families because parents are there drinking while "their kids run wild, so there's no parental control...it's bad." Neighborhood teenagers are having babies,and she worries that "in this neighborhood, children can learn all the wrong things at the wrong ages." Her children pick up bad language and habits from what they see and hear and it's hard for her to control this. Another LBJ mother argues that "people don't care" like the woman upstairs. They just don't care about anyone else." This woman, she says, leaves the children alone all day and they fight, cry and swear until she returns to swear at them. She adds that "we can hear it all like she's right here." The result is that this mother does not let her child "associate with no one around, particularly the children upstairs who are very bad." She also worries about the drunks because "drunk people are vicious." The attitude of about half of the LBJ parents who do not express as many of the above kinds of concerns is summarized by another mother, thus: "I keep to myself. They don't bother me and I don't bother them."

Three LBJ mothers did express positive feelings about their neighbors; one said that her children could play outside without "getting beaten up by Black children" as in her older neighborhood and that her neighbors were "friendly...but not nosey." Another mother described her neighbors as "just easy to get along with." Equally important, she said, was that "they're generous, they will watch the kids." The last of the three wished her neighbors were more friendly but said her son gets on "fabulously" because there are all kinds of people "who are crazy about him" around.

The picture is less mixed in Lexington-East Fayette, where the majority of parents had negative things to say about the social ecology. Here, as in LBJ, a number of parents do not let their children play with others in the area because they are a bad influence. "Almost everybody here keeps their kids to themselves; they don't let their children play with other children, or at least they try to prevent it," and so, she added, "It makes it hard for the kids to find something to do." Others cited problems with their children picking up dirty language, parents who do not control their children, wild children, exposure to bad teenage behaviors, and disrespect for others. In the words of one father, "The one thing I really dislike about the neighborhood is how some parents just let their kids run wild...I mean the kids around here have no discipline. The association with other kids is bad, 'cause the kids around here are so bad, so I won't let him go outside by himself." This man worries because he doesn't "like the influence it (the pressure of teenagers) has on my kids and the peer pressure on them." "It's a bad place for my kids to live, another mother summarized, "they are exposed to too many things that they are too young to see." Again, as in LBJ, a number of people said they didn't know their neighbors or that "I don't associate with many people around here but the few I do deal with are okay." Limiting involvement seems to be the way a number of parents cope with their surroundings, with the consequence that some feel isolated and lonely. There was one parent on the periphery of the neighborhood whose views, as a counterpoint to the common one, articulate what others by omission say the area lacks. "I feel really good about the people," she said, "they are friendly and try to help if they are needed. In a time of crisis, everyone in the area would be there to help out."

The themes of keeping to oneself and restricting children also predominate in Tallman South. It's a dangerous area, one mother felt, "because the people fight so much." As a result, her children are "in the house at 6 p.m. every day." "I'm afraid for my three-year-old to play outside, alone," another said, "because of the bums around here...I don't like the language they use and when they get started, somebody always gets hurt." A number of people here echo the view that they cannot let their children play outside alone; "we never let our kids outside by themselves, not even in daylight." In Tallman South the adults were often singled out as a problem. "It's the grown-ups most of the time," one mother argued, "they raise a lot of 'sand.' It's bad enough when the kids get into fights without having the grown-ups getting involved and egging things on." She is looking for another place to live because "I can't take it anymore." Another mother had recently left the area and was interviewed at her mother's home. She left, she explained, because "the people who live in the building were always starting trouble" and her daughter could not go outside by herself "because of the glass and all the drunks." She had no friends in the area and those from outside did not want to visit because "the neighborhood was so bad." Older children are clearly a problem in these areas, not least, as one mother put it, because they "teach the younger kids to steal and fight and everything else around here." As in the other low-income areas, most of the parents who did not express strong negative views said either that they didn't know their neighbors or some variant of "I don't bother them and they don't bother me" or "we mind our own business and they don't bother us." Two also added that in their immediate area, neighbors do try to watch out for one another's property.

Two Tallman-South mothers did have positive views about their neighbors. One said that she liked the area because "I'm friends with most of the people and it's racially-mixed and that counts when you've got mixed kids." She added that everyone around is "crazy about my three-year-old" and that everyone there "gets along." This mother, a three-year resident, is one of the five program parents who had lived in this area more than 18 months. (The views of the most long-term resident, who had lived there for 18 years, were cited during the previous discussion of mobility. She felt the area was nice and safe for people who had lived there a long time and knew people, otherwise it was "very rough.")

The cumulative impact of these various neighborhood stresses in the low-income areas seems to foster withdrawal into the family to avoid harm from an environment felt to be mostly hostile. Expectations for the social ecology are lowered and there is an effort to avoid the negative effects of others on the child and family. As a coping strategy, this is very much akin to the Suttle's (1972) previously mentioned idea of defended neighborhoods. In these areas where defensible space and control are less, detachment may be an effort to exert greater control.

This strategy may carry with it a dilemma. To control an unsafe and unsupportive environment, parents narrow the social and physical range for themselves and their children, but this can impose burdens of its own. These include the point made in section one, that parents and children cannot get away from each other, with possible negative results for each. It may also create loneliness and isolation for both parents and children and cut them off from any positive family support the environment might offer. The children have the double problem of lonely parents and the lack of access to other people and activities.

The difference between the low- and higher-income areas is sharp; there were only eight parents who complained about some aspect of other parent's or children's behavior in all of the seven moderate- and middle-income areas. Three of these complaints came from single parents living in a housing project in Salt Springs. In general, parents describe their neighbors in these seven areas as friendly, helpful, getting along with others, respecting privacy, as resources for emergencies, and as watchful of other's children. There were certainly complaints about older neighbors, about an occasionaly nosey or unfriendly one and the like, but overall, people have positive conceptions of the neighborhood's social ecology. As will be apparent, the contrast between the lower- and higher-income areas is of two types: statements of opposite characteristics (safe vs. unsafe, caring vs. uncaring neighbors), and statements by omission (complaints about the bad influence of neighborhood adults vs. the lack of such complaints).

The Moderate-Income Neighborhoods

The majority of the Nedrow parents have positive things to say about adults in the area; "friendly" and "nice" are frequently used terms. Eight of the families commented on how well people get along: "The neighbors are friendly, no animosity in this area among any of them," one father said, describing a common view. People are felt to be considerate of each other and there is "an underlying cooperation in the neighborhood." Over half of the parents also mentioned some variant of the following: "I can go to the neighbors for help," or "they offer help if you need it." The adults are perceived as nice to children; several parents mentioned that the neighbors keep an eye out for their younger children. Traffic appears to be the main constraint against children playing outside, but the general sense is that children can be outside in the neighborhood without undue parental concern. The primary complaint is that some areas do not have enough children, not that there are problems with those available. Only one family mentioned difficulties related to childrearing. "Parents have different ideas about their children's behavior than we do," one Nedrow mother explained. Others allow their kids to do things she will not and this causes claims of unfairness from her children. She also breaks up fights but feels other parents think this is unwarranted interference.

In Nedrow, as in the other moderate- and middle-income areas, the effort to strike a relationship with neighbors which is close, but not too close, is evident. The sense, reminiscent of the neighbor's view in Robert Frost's poem, "Mending Wall," is that "'Good fences make good neighbors'" (1964). Neighbors were valued if they "are not hanging all over us, which I don't care for." Or as a Nedrow father described one of the chief benefits of his area: "People are friendly, nice, willing to help out, even if you don't socialize with them." With a few exceptions, neighbors were valued here if they were friendly and helpful while respectful of other's privacy. This is in accord with much previous research on neighboring which suggests that neighbors should be friendly but that they are unlikely to be friends. "The neighbor," Keller found in her review of literature on neighboring, "is the helper in times of need who is expected to step in when other resources fail" (1968, pg.

29). There are a few areas in the higher-income neighborhoods where the lack of statements about setting boundaries with neighbors and the presence of those describing a supportive, close group, suggest a different set of expectations and solutions to the issue of the neighboring role.

The majority of program families in Eastwood feel positively about their neighbors and relations with them. Several stress how pleased they are to have young families with similar life styles to enjoy and to count on for day-to-day assistance. "They're dependable," one mother said, "we really help each other in general. We keep an eye on each other's kids -- all my neighbors are that way." The area was frequently described as "family-oriented" or as possessing a "family atmosphere."

Dissonance from this common view was expressed by a single mother in a housing project. In contrast with three other similarly situated single mothers, she reported that in her complex, "We really don't have much to do with anyone around here;" she "hates nosey people" and prefers not having people around "borrowing things." There is only a tiny playground for the project, she said, and the children fight there so she "just decided the hell with it, I'm keeping them inside because I can't be watching them all the time." In response to the question about safety, she replied: "Well, things happen here. Everyone is poor and things always happen. Nothing has happened to me, but boy, I keep hearing about things. I don't let my children outside on their own. God, if anything happened to them!"

Just a block away in the project are three other single women with a very different view of the social ecology, one that suggests their interaction with it is very supportive. These women describe their neighbors as really nice, helpful, and, as minding their own business. The most enthusiastic said that her neighbors are "fantastic" and that they have a "give and take atmosphere...we always help each other out." The other children around are "good" kids with the result that she feels she can trust her three-year-old daughter with them and "she has a little more independence because of this...I don't have to constantly keep an eye on her." The older kids are perceived as a benefit, not a problem. Their care of the daughter gives the mother free time and gives the child access to things her mother would not have time to do. (The arrangement may also benefit the teenagers as they experience the responsibility of caring for others.) There are occasional fights among the parents about whose child misbehaved first, another of the three single women reported, but while this "gets on her nerves sometimes... ususally blows over -- nothing serious."

The contrast between the first mother who stays to herself and the other three points up the ways in which the environment can be a source of stress or support to a parent and how it can effect the locus, companions, and nature of children's activities. Further, the contrast raises questions about the mother's own contributions to the social ecology. Are the differences a function of different expectations of neighbors and self in the neighboring role or of a combination of more complex forces such as safety and frequent mobility? The analysis of the mothers' perceptions opens up speculation on these questions; the results of the Comparative Ecology Project's efforts to alter the social ecology and create more supportive environments may provide some answers.

Unlike the three lower-income neighborhoods, the two moderate and five middle-income areas are typically judged to be either benign or supportive to family life. This is evident in the neighborhood ratings shown in Figure 6.8. With the exception of Eastwood-North, parents in the seven higher-income neighborhoods rate their areas between the generally good and very good marks on the scale. In the interviews, these parents express pride and attachment to their areas; while a few expressed specific discontents, no one spoke of the neighborhood as a bad place to raise a family. The parents' characterizations of the five middle-income areas, Liverpool, Tipperary Hill, Schiller-Wadsworth, Westcott-Thornden, and Salt Springs, have much in common. The focus of most of the parents' views about their neighborhoods, here as in the low-income areas, is on people and what they do or do not do. Taken together, the individual comments reveal a set of social expectations and relations which lead to a sense of the neighborhood social ecology as a reasonably comfortable backdrop for childrearing.

The Middle-Income Neighborhoods

In the middle-income areas, as in the two moderate ones, parents very rarely mention that neighborhood children or adults are a bad influence on their children. Parents describe neigbors as friendly, if not always as friends. Although not everyone expresses it, there are hints of on-going and reciprocal systems of caring in some of the neighborhoods which provide a kind of social insurance for families in both anticipation and practice. "The neighborhood is very good, very good," a Tipperary Hill father said, "everybody sort of watches out for everybody else." The neighbors are great, a Schiller-Wadsworth mother reported, because "they would stick together if they saw anything happening." Or as a Salt Springs father noted, "I feel very good about the neighbors. They are people who respect each other and are there to help if you need it." There are some examples of help given, but more often people speak as the above Salt Springs man did, of assurance that help would be forthcoming if necessary. This kind of insurance seems to function as a subtle kind of support and its existence is cited both by those who describe themselves as minding their own business and by those who say they have very close relationships to neighbors.

Children in the middle-income areas may be less restricted than children in lower-income areas in their run of the neighborhood because so many parents report that there is a network of watchful neighbors. "I feel secure letting our kids have the run of the block," a Westcott-Thorden father said, "...people throughout the neighborhood know my daughter and her sister and they keep an eye on them." He adds that he and his wife "feel free to caution other children if they are doing something unsafe and I know other people do too." A single mother in Tipperary Hill explained that her neighbors look out for her and her sons. Therefore her boys can play outside and she doesn't "feel that I have to be looking out the window all the time." She adds, "People here really do care .... and it's real."

The operation of this "safety net" for children does not seem to be dependent on close ties with neighbors but is reflective of a larger sense of neighborhood responsibility. One Salt Springs mother, who said that her neighbors keep an eye on her three-year-old and another daughter while they are playing, summarized the views of a number of others when she said: "There are good people around. I don't know many intimately but everyone has a commitment to the neighborhood." The benefits for parents in this are likely to be two-fold: children are relatively safe but not always underfoot, and in a sense, the parent is sharing some of his or her child-watching and perhaps childrearing responsibilities with others. The parents in these areas trust others in their environment, for the most part, and as a result do not live with constant worry about negative environmental influences. In that sense, the social ecology becomes almost a backdrop for childrearing, whereas in the lower-income areas, the negative behavior of others appears to be much more in the foreground of people's concerns.

As one would expect, there are differences among the five middle-income areas in terms of factors such as the knowledge and closeness to others, satisfaction with age groupings and the like, but they tend to be differences of degree rather than kind. The perceptions of the Westcott-Thornden parents are the only exception. These people characterize their neighborhood, with almost ideological fervor, as one approaching the ideal type of a close and secure community. In the parents' words, Westcott-Thornden is a place where:

> -People are friendly, warm, supportive. They help each other. There's a real sense of neighborliness, an old-fashioned value. Maybe because of the transitional nature of the area with the students, the few that make it their home are drawn closer to get to know each other.
>
> -People have similar values about childrearing and we can send the kids out to play knowing they will be allowed to do similar things with relatively similar kinds of supervision.
>
> -I like the sense of community, the different ages -- mix of old and young and the fact that it's interracial.
>
> -I like the sense of neighborhood, knowing a lot of people...
>
> -People are friendly and extend themselves. We have neighbors we can count on and vice versa. The people who live here care about this area. They make a point of getting to know each other. I like the feeling of community and neighborliness.
>
> -Even in this day of fragmentation and the direction the world is unfortunately taking away from 'community,' somehow our neighborhood has retained that quality and that makes it all the more valuable to us. The sense of community, neighborliness, common enterprise.

Sometimes, similar comments were made about other neighborhoods but not with the frequency they were made by Westcott-Thornden parents. In the other neighborhoods when comments about very supportive and close relationships are made about neighbors, usually the respondent is someone who has lived a long time in the area.

There are some scattered remarks that indicate a desire to go beyond the neighborhood norm of friendly and cordial relationships to more old-fashioned neighborliness in the middle-income areas. "I would like to know the people who just moved in," a Schiller-Wadsworth mother mused, "I would like it to be the kind of neighborhood where if people moved in, everyone went over and brought them a cake or something to welcome them." But, she continued, "The way it is now, people move and you don't even know it for months, it's like every family for themselves." It is unclear whether such sentiments merely reflect nostalgia or something more which parents are willing to act upon to create closer and more actively supportive environments for families. The interviews are largely silent on the question of how people get to know one another, but they do provide clues that common values, similar age, time to get to know the area, and mutual respect for privacy facilitate the process.

Constrasting Housing Complexes

The higher-income areas by and large are perceived as more supportive of family life, but there are exceptions, the most notable of which is a group of single mothers in the Springfield Gardens housing complex in Salt Springs. They constitute a separate niche with a social ecology contrary to that reported by other neighborhood parents. Their perceptions contain many of the same themes voiced by parents in lower income areas. People don't watch or discipline their own children much less assume any responsibility for others, children use bad language and set a bad example for others, and parents withdraw from contact with neighbors because its "all right here, as long as you mind your own business." The key element that is lacking seems to be concern for others: "It's funny," one of the women said, "nobody bothers with anybody else." For parents, this imposes the following sort of problem:

> -...people don't seem to have any sense around here. If my son is playing at someone else's house and its getting dark, they never think of sending him home, so I have to go out and yell all over the neighborhood for him...people just don't care.

The social ecology of this niche is in marked contrast to that described by another group of single mothers in Eastwood-North who also live in a housing project. The two groups of mothers have similar characteristics, as Table 6.2 shows, but apparently experience different neighborhood dynamics. In the Eastwood case, the women describe neighbors who care and the ways in which this supports them and their children. While more comparisons of background characteristics might reveal an explanation, these two niches may also constitute evidence for the kind of "neighborhood effect" Garbarino hypothesizes.

The Whole and Its Parts

In a selective review of literature on neighborhoods, Garbarino

TABLE 6.2

Comparison of Selected Characteristics of Mothers in Two Single Parent Niches

	race	age	years of education	months in area	hours a month in childcare	weekly maternal work hours
Eastwood						
Ms. A	Black	28	10	24	170	38
Ms. B	White	22	11	24	140	0
Ms. C	White	38	12	14	120	20
Salt Springs						
Ms. D	White	23	12	18	36	40
Ms. E	White	26	12	13	48	0
Ms. F	White	22	10	12	36	0

found that there is increasing evidence that a family's neighborhood context, defined in terms of social support, the demographic characteristics of neighbors, and overall neighborhood physical characteristics, affects a family's capacity to function as a childrearing system (Garbarino, 1980). He concluded that "it seems the richness of a parent's social environment is a significant influence on the adequacy of the childrearing that parent provides" (pg. 188). He himself studied two neighborhoods, one at high- and the other at low-risk for child abuse, to see how the neighborhoods differ. He found that parents in the high-risk area, though socioeconomically similar to those in the low risk area, had less positive evaluations of the neighborhood for childrearing and a general pattern of "social impoverishment" (pg. 196). These results would suggest that simply examining socioeconomic differences among neighborhoods does not capture some of the crucial differences among them as contexts for childrearing. Garbarino offers a challenge in this regard; "To validly speak of a 'neighborhood effect,'" he argues, "we need to show that 'the whole is greater than the sum of its parts,' that the same family would be more at risk in one neighborhood than another" (pg. 196). The parent's perceptions examined in this chapter have important limitations. They are static and individualistic, and as a result, cannot tell us about all the processes that underlie differences, such as that between the single parent niches in Eastwood and Salt Springs. However, the analysis of parents' perceptions of their neighborhoods has suggested some of the ways in which the influence of the neighborhood on families is greater than the sum of the component parts. In conclusion, we turn now to summarize the ways in which these neighborhood characteristics affect parents and their children's activities.

Young Families and Neighborhoods

The parent's perceptions suggest that the neighborhood, as a physical, social, and social ecological space, can promote or inhibit support, security, and activities important for parents and children. Neighborhood dynamics have an active impact; neighbors and what they do or do not do are the key to whether or not the neighborhood is seen as harmful or beneficial to families with small children. There is variation in the parents' views within each neighborhood, but there appears to be even greater variation between the three low-income and seven moderate- and middle-income areas. Neighborhood factors are both more negative and more intrusive for families in the low-income areas. Furthermore, unlike higher-income parents who dislike their neighborhoods and plan to move to more accomodating ones, the lower income families have less margin to move and less choice of place when they do. In that sense, poor families can pick neither their neighbors nor their relatives.

By and large, families in the low-income areas describe their neighborhoods as hostile or at best, benign. Those in the higher-income areas describe them as benign at worst, and supportive at best. Environmental factors create stress and provide little support for low-income parents. They report continual concern for their children's safety and the lack of adequate play space. Parents worry about the influence of their children's playmates on them and frequently restrict their children to the home as a result. They fear the effects of the children's exposure to the seamier side of the adult world in evidence in the neighborhood. They feel they have little privacy and little control over events, places, and people in the immediate environment and that this has negative effects on their children. The stresses impact directly and indirectly on the child, directly through things such as curtailed activities and lack of play space or playmates, and indirectly through increased stress on the parents. The stress is accompanied by the lack of supports which parents in higher-income areas often report are available. These supports include the sense of well being that comes from living in an area where neighbors are perceived as caring and helpful. Parents in the higher-income areas more frequently report friendly contacts with other adults in the area and the personal enjoyment they derive from them. Those in low-income areas often describe themselves as deliberately isolated, at least from extensive interchanges with neighbors.

This qualitative analysis of parents' reports about their neighborhoods suggests a number of hypotheses which could be tested in a quantitative examination of the effects of neighborhood on family life. Those hypotheses are presented in Table 6.3 6.9. They all distinguish neighborhoods where families are

Table 6.3

Hypotheses Relating to the Effects of Neighborhood on Family Life

1. Parents in low-income neighborhoods will have more negative overall assessments of their environment than those in higher income areas.

    1A. Parents in low-income areas will perceive people in the neighborhood as a source of stress while those in upper-income areas will report them as a source of support.

    1B. Single mothers living in low-income areas will report more overall neighborhood stress than those living in upper-income areas (controlling for mother's income).

    1C. Parents of daughters who live in low-income areas will report more overall stress from the neighborhood than their counterparts in higher-income areas.

2. Parents in low-income areas will have more negative and lower positive perceptions of the child than those in higher-income areas due to the constraints the neighborhood places on mobility, sociability, and psychological space for both parent and child.

    2A. Parents in low-income neighborhoods will report more stress related to the child's behavior than those in higher-income areas.

    2B. Single mothers living in low-income neighborhoods will report more stress and less support related to child behavior than those living in higher-income areas.

    2C. Parents of sons living in low-income neighborhoods will report more stress and less support related to their son's behavior than their counterparts in higher-income areas.

3. Parents in low-income areas will have more negative and fewer positive perceptions of themselves as parents than those in higher-income areas, due in part to their feelings of inability to control the environmental influences on the child.

4. Children of parents living in lower-income areas will engage in fewer independent activities than their higher-income counterparts.

5. Parents of children living in low-income areas will perceive them as having more problems in areas of interpersonal behavior than will the parents of children living in higher-income areas.

poor from those populated by moderate- and middle-income families. Outcome variables of interest include perceptions of self as parent, the child, and people in the neighborhood, and child development processes and outcomes (participation in activities independent of parents, development of interpersonal skills).

Parents' perceptions of themselves and others, childrens' activities (both with and without their parents), and the performance of children in settings beyond the home are all themes of central interest to the Family Matters program. If a neighborhood has impact upon parents and children which is "greater than the sum of its parts", then the same will be true of its impact upon a restricted program of support for family life. What will be the "neighborhood effect" upon parent-child oriented home-visiting and cluster-building efforts? Will there be differences in effect between neighborhoods of the same socio-economic character, as well as between low- and middle-resource areas? We will return to these questions in Chapter 9, where the primary focus is on implications for program delivery and impact.

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CHAPTER 7

SOCIAL NETWORKS AS INFORMAL SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL SUPPORT

Moncrieff M. Cochran and Margaret L. Campbell

Conceptual and Methodological Orientation

Introduction

What is a social network? Barnes (1972) and Wolfe (1978) argue convincingly that for many users of the term, it has really been no more than a metaphor, a figure of speech in which the social links that an individual -- or set of individuals -- has with others are likened to the connecting strands of a net. As a figure of speech the phrase has limited usefulness; it is of value as a literary point of departure or orienting concept but without clearly specified meaning in the scientific sense.

When we try to endow the network metaphor with meaning, we find that in fact it means different things to different people. That is, the term, social network, is being used as an analogue for a number of different general concepts which are of interest to academics and practitioners of varying persuasions; concepts like community (Fischer et al., 1977; Wellman, 1979), the primary group (Gottlieb, 1979), kinship (Adams, 1968), and out-of-home social activities (Hess et al., Note 1). Lewis

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(Note 2) has pointed out that in logic an analogy is the inference that if two or more things agree with one another in one or more respects, they will probably agree in yet others. It is, then, essential that we begin by clearly identifying the general conceptual domain or area of inquiry from which we are drawing an analogy to social network.

In the Comparative Ecology of Human Development Project, we set out to study "the capacity (of urban American environments) to serve as support systems to parents and other adults directly involved in the care, upbringing and education of children" (Bronfenbrenner and Cochran, Note 3). Thus our most general interest is in support systems. We distinguish conceptually between formal and informal supports, defining informal supports as those persons to whom a parent turns for assistance in their roles as relatives, neighbors, and friends. The social relationships involved are of a non-contractual nature. Parents maintain a number of such relationships simultaneously, and by referring to them as systems, we imply that these sets of relations have some logical integrity. Thus, informal systems of social support can be distinguished from formal systems of support available to families with children (see "supports," in Chapter 4).

The social networks concept is of interest to us to the extent that an analogy can be drawn between it and informal social support systems. Examined at the level of metaphor, there appear to be similarities between the two ideas; both involve sets of relationships which are social in character. We are prepared, therefore, to assume that they are to some extent analogous, and there is some precedent for making that assumption (Stack, 1974). This assumption provides us with substantial scientific advantage, for the social networks concept has been carried well beyond the level of metaphor by scholars from both sociology (Fischer, 1976; Wellman and Leighton, 1979) and anthropology (Barnes, 1954; Bott, 1957; Boissevain and Mitchell, 1973), and is beginning to be utilized by others in psychology (Gottlieb, 1979) and family studies (Cochran and Brassard, 1979; Tietjen, Note 4). The structural and relational elements of social networks have been specified and operationalized by these scientists, and this process has contributed to and been buttressed by both theory-building and empirical research. No equivalent advances have been made in relation to the concept of informal social support systems, but having drawn the earlier analogy it becomes appropriate to utilize the progress made in one area of inquiry in behalf of efforts to better understand the other.

Before going further, we need to acknowledge the caution about support system studies offered by Wellman in his recent paper (1981) entitled "Applying network analysis to the study of support." In it he reminds us that to assume that all network ties are supportive is, as he puts it, "to oversimplify the nature of ties and networks" (pg. 3). In the passage which follows, Wellman identifies at least four reasons why the term support system must not be applied in a restrictive and simplistic way,

> We all know intuitively that ties are not always supportive; that support is transmitted in variable, often ambiguous ways; that people often participate in several social networks in different spheres of their lives. However, the "support system" concept negates this sound intuitive knowledge of the complexi-

> ties of ties and networks by denoting a single system composed only of supportive social relations. Its focus on a simple "support/nonsupport" dichotomy de-emphasizes the multi-faceted, often contradictory nature of social ties. Its assumption that supportive ties form a separate system isolates them from a person's overall network of interpersonal ties. Its assumption that all of these supportive ties are connected to each other in one integrated system goes against empirical reality and creates the dubious expectation that solidarity systems are invariably more desirable. Its assumption that there are no conflicts of interest between "supporters" invokes the false premise of a common good (pg. 3).

In this research, we have tried hard not to make any of the assumptions that Wellman warns against (Cochran and Brassard, 1979). Network members are recognized as having the capacity to provide both stress and support to parents and children. Care is taken to distinguish between different sectors of the network, recognizing that each can play a somewhat different part in the daily life of parents. Solidarity, while not a major focus of this research, is certainly not viewed as the be-all and end-all of social organization. At the same time, we are interested in where parents turn for material and emotional support, whether they organize those resources in ways that suggest conscious, thoughtful action on their parts, and how the patterns that emerge might be related to the socio-economic resources that they have at their command.

Mitchell (1969) points out that there are differences in terminology and emphasis even in the specification of the elements making up the social network. He argues that, once operationalized, virtually all of what are referred to by researchers as social networks turn out to be partial rather than complete, because it is difficult (if not impossible) to map all of the relational bonds existing among a set of individuals. It is logical to assert from this observation that what gets included in a given empirical study depends upon the nature of the research questions under investigation. Since the general question of interest to us is how access to and utilization of informal systems of social support affect parents' attitudes toward and activities with their children, we identified a number of related themes for use as guides in the establishment of priorities for the analysis of the array of network variables available to us. These themes are intended to capture major lines of thinking emphasized in the literature related to informal supports for parents. The themes themselves cannot be directly operationalized; they are represented in our analyses by constructs, which consist of fully specified variables and variable combinations. These constructs are heavily influenced by, and in several instances directly represent, the dimensions of the social network reflected in the networks literature. In the material which follows, we begin by presenting our social support-related themes, and then introduce separately the key constructs we feel are related to those themes. The themes and constructs are then linked to one another, and priorities for data analysis established. This first section of Chapter 7 ends with a summarizing discussion of data preparation.

Project-Related Conceptual Themes

Five concepts which are, in our view, related to the major dimensions of informal social support systems are presented and discussed briefly below. Several criteria were used to select these concepts, which first are solidly rooted in the theoretical traditions of the social sciences. Second, the concepts are useful as ways of understanding the possible effects of our intervention program on participating families. Finally, these concepts provide a necessary bridge between the ill-defined "informal support system" and its analogue, the personal social network.

Social participation - This, the most general of our themes, has its theoretical roots in the sociology of Durkheim and Tonnies and the psychology of Mead and Kelly. Social connectedness is posited as the foundation for the development of a well-integrated sense of self in relation to others, a commitment to other-oriented social values, and a concept of community. There is some evidence that involvement in social activities outside the immediate family is related to better mental health (Cobb, 1976), attitudes toward oneself as a parent (Abernethy, 1973), and parent-child activities (Hess et al., Note 1), and that there is a relationship between social isolation and child abuse (Elmer, 1974; Parke and Collmer, 1975). The concept of connectedness is poorly defined, however, and not well understood. Is any connectedness enough to ensure mental health and normal functioning, or does it make a difference with whom the connections are maintained? Are the types of exchange engaged in with social contacts important? Does it matter whether they are obligatory or voluntary? These questions imply a need to be sensitive to variations in role, in type of exchange, and in access to resources as the patterns of social participation by parents are compared with one another.

Social role relations - The social role most closely associated with the network is kinship. The study of kinship systems has long been the province of the anthropologist, and the extended family is clearly a partial network of major significance (Young & Willmott, 1957; Adams, 1968; Minturn & Lambert, 1964).

While kinship ties are traditionally associated with a greater degree of obligatory behavior than are ties with others, one must not assume that non-kin are therefore of less importance to parents. The catch-all non-kin category can be further distinguished by role; certainly neighbor and workmate are role relations well documented as having their own meaning and characteristics. There is an extensive body of literature focused on neighbors and neighboring (Warren & Warren, 1976), some of which is undertaken within the social networks framework (Cubitt, 1973). While the particular role-related characteristics of the workmate as network member are less clearly articulated, the socializing power of the workplace has been studied in some depth (Kohn, 1977) and discussed in relation to its effects on social participation more generally (Wilensky, 1961).

There is also a substantial body of literature on the subject of friendship, which cuts across the categories just delineated and may have its origins in earlier social experiences (former schoolmate, former neighbor, etc.). Friendship can be combined with the neighboring, kinship, and workmate roles, and needs to be better understood in relation to them (Stack, 1974; Kapferer, 1969).

No systematic effort has been made to understand how people in these different roles contribute to the informal social support systems of young parents. Do kin and non-kin serve different functions for parents in need of assistance? What significance might the marital status of the parents have for such functioning? Is there ethnic variation in these patterns? The selection of role relations as a conceptual theme with high priority has led to the development of constructs which permit analyses that address these kinds of questions.

Emotional support - The content of each relationship contained in an informal social support system may include elements of either an emotional or an instrumental nature, or some of both kinds of support (Caplan, 1974). There is some recent evidence to indicate that for parents, emotional support is especially important in relieving stress (Belle, Note 5, McAdoo, Note 6), and for that reason we have given it conceptual prominance in the baseline study. At the same time, instrumental assistance directly related to family life stage, like childrearing information and child care, could have a more direct bearing upon the development of the child and so also deserves our immediate attention.

Historical depth - There is reason to believe that the maintenance of long-term relationships, as in the case of kin, can both provide stability and at the same time be a constraining influence in the development of young adults (Wellman, 1981; Bott, 1957). Historical rootedness need not be limited to social relations with kinfolk, long-term, continuous residence in the same neighborhood or community often produces non-kin relationships of long standing. And the larger the number of people that a parent has known for a long time, the greater the probability that they know each other, especially if most of them live in the same geographic area. Because rootedness in a tightly knit set of social relations can be both bane and blessing, it is important to understand the circumstances under which such social systems are perceived of as supportive or stressful.

Exchange specialization - What makes the provider of informal social support really important to a parent? Is it the particular assistance provided that is crucial, or the feeling of knowing that one or more people can be counted on to help regardless of the nature of the need? Little is known about parents' feelings of stress or supportedness, particularly as those feelings might relate to how specialized or multi-purpose their relationships are with those to whom they turn in their social circles (Barnes, 1972; Wellman, 1981). This theme has in common with role relations (see earlier) the possibility of certain kinds of combinations emerging as especially supportive under certain parental circumstances (relative who is neighbor; relationship providing exchanges of emotional support as well as sound advice and crisis babysitting).

Empirically Grounded Constructs

Because the conceptual themes just discussed are grounded much more in theory than in empirical reality, it becomes necessary when addressing them to rely upon inference based on the use of constructs which can be operationalized and can with justification be said to represent our themes of interest. Those constructs are listed on the left hand side of figure 7.1 and linked on the right with the themes that they are intended to represent. The reader can see, then, that constructs combine to address themes; for instance, social participation is represented by centeredness, resource strength, network reserve, and homogeneity.

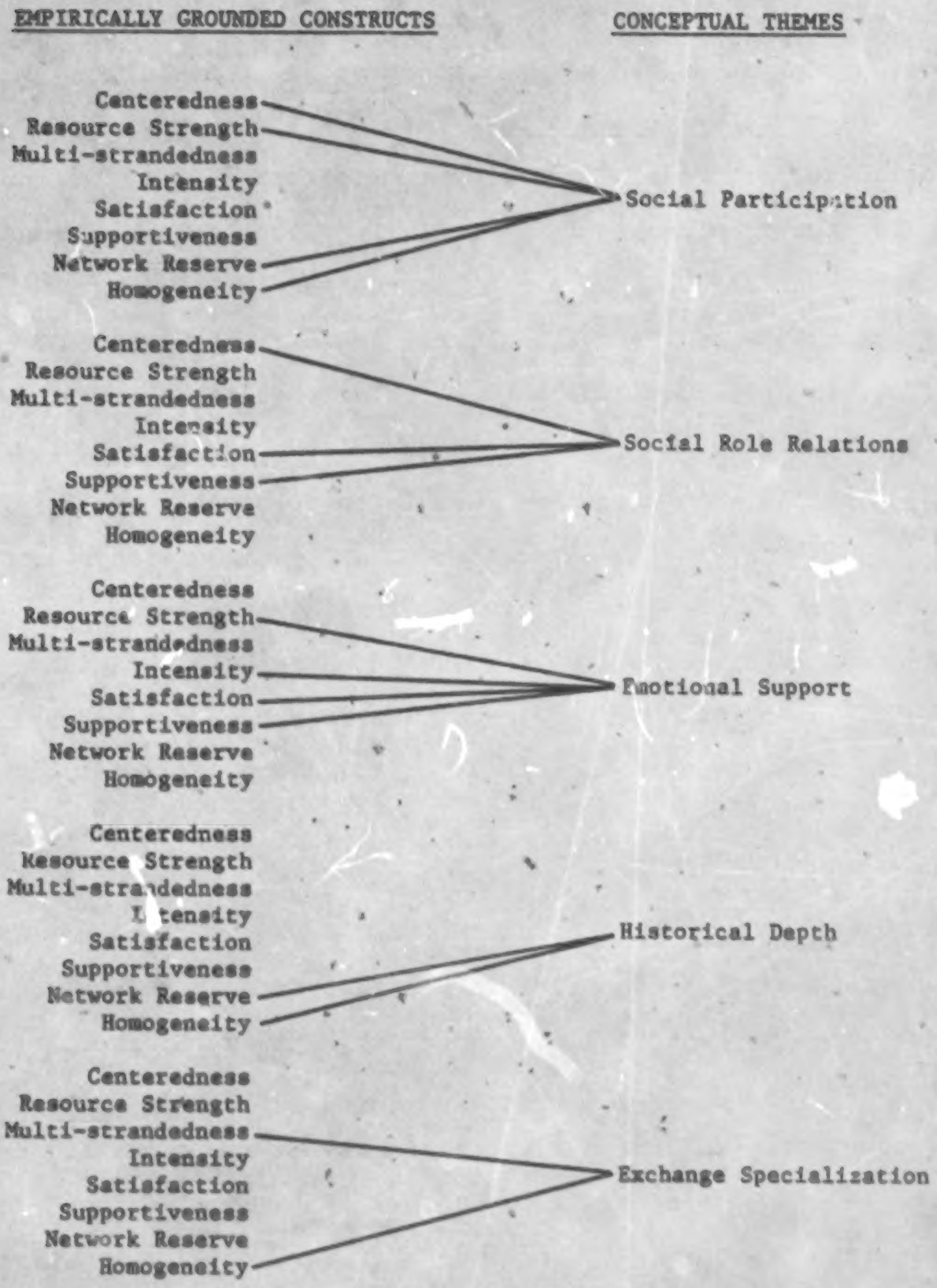

EMPIRICALLY GROUNDED CONSTRUCTS
CONCEPTUAL THEMES
Centeredness
Resource Strength
Multi-strandedness
Intensity
Satisfaction
Supportiveness
Network Reserve
Homogeneity
Social Participation
Centeredness
Resource Strength
Multi-strandedness
Intensity
Satisfaction
Supportiveness
Network Reserve
Homogeneity
Social Role Relations
Centeredness
Resource Strength
Multi-strandedness
Intensity
Satisfaction
Supportiveness
Network Reserve
Homogeneity
Emotional Support
Centeredness
Resource Strength
Multi-strandedness
Intensity
Satisfaction
Supportiveness
Network Reserve
Homogeneity
Historical Depth
Centeredness
Resource Strength
Multi-strandedness
Intensity
Satisfaction
Supportiveness
Network Reserve
Homogeneity
Exchange Specialization

Figure 7.1

The constructs are presented below in order of priority for our analysis; they are briefly defined and described in terms of the actual variables used to build them.

Centeredness - We define centeredness as the degree that a parent's network is dominated by individuals in a particular role. The major distinction is between kin and non-kin, but non-kin can be further subdivided to distinguish neighbors, workmates and other friends. It is also possible to distinguish dominance from predominance, the former referring to prevailing influence through transactions and the latter to greater frequency of membership within one particular role category than in others.

The reader might remember (NIE Report, May 1980) that the membership in the network is generated by the parent in response to a request for "people you are in contact with from time to time, who are important to you in one way or another." Required probes consist of neighbors, relatives, workmates, schoolmates, organization and agency contacts, and other friends, in that order. Thus, for the purposes of this report, the predominance aspect of centeredness is operationalized with the following variables, only a few of which are retained throughout our entire analysis sequence:

-size of kin sector,* broken down into immediate and extended kin

-size of non-kin sectors, broken down into schoolmates, workmates, neighbors, organizational contacts, agency contacts, and other friends

---

* A sector is the membership in a partial network made up of contacts who share the same role relationship with the parent.

The dominance dimension of centeredness we operationalize by combining the size variables listed above with information gathered about the content of the exchanges taking place between parent and each network member. That information is elicited by a series of questions of the following sort: "Is there anyone on this list who you turn to for (content category)?" The content variables included in this report are:

- babysitting
- childrearing advice
- borrowing (small things)
- illness
- financial assistance
- work-related issues
- emotional support

A combination of these content categories with the role differentiations can tell us, for instance, how dominated emotional support is by relatives, or baby-sitting by neighbors. Later in this chapter we explain how correlational evidence has been used to justify collapsing these seven exchange variables into a smaller set of "derived" exchanges.

Resource strength refers to the reported use parents make of network members for the exchange of social and material resources. The resource categories used in this research have already been specified above in relation to the concept of role dominance. They can be summed across roles by content category. For analysis purposes, we have combined several categories to produce five dimensions of resource strength at the derived variable level:

-child-related

-practical

-financial

-emotional

-work-related

The five categories of resource availability provide summary information about the nature of what actually flows along the links of a network. The emphasis is on the nature of relationships rather than simply on the structure of social relations (roles). With this construct we can begin to differentiate among the various types of network resources available to parents, and, based on this knowledge, predict the specific arenas within which parents with certain combinations of resources will be perceiving both external and internal sources of support and stress.

Multi-strandedness - When Barnes (1972) distinguishes between single-stranded and multiplex relations, he is pointing out that dyadic relationships almost invariably have more than one content. He is inclined to define content in very general, role-related terms, like male-female, rich-poor, white-Black, and buyer-seller. While roles interest us, we will also pay particular attention to relations which are single- or multi-stranded along the exchange dimension. Thus for us, multi-strandedness refers to one or more dyadic relationship for which the parent reports two or more pre-selected role or exchange contents. We use the terms "role multi-strandedness" and "exchange multi-strandedness" to distinguish the two major categories of relational content.

When distingishing multi- from single-stranded relationships for the purposes of analysis, we have created the following derived variables:

Role Multistrandedness:

- -any two roles
- -relative plus one other role
- -any two non-kin roles
- -relative and neighbor

Exchange Multistrandedness:

- -number of network members involved in four exchange types
- -number of network members involved in three exchange types
- -number of network involved in two exchange types.

The data are aggregated in a way which makes it possible to distinguish among the particular combinations of exchange content being provided by network members, but those more elaborate analyses will not be included in this report. When specific content combinations are examined in greater detail, we will be especially interested in those which combine emotional support with one or more instrumental exchanges.

By making the distinction between single- and multi-stranded relationships we are able to identify more specialized and general-purpose relationships within networks, and to examine how greater or lesser specialization affects parents' perceptions of stress and support in other areas of their lives. We also wonder, when parents distinguish the most important relationships in their personal networks from those of lesser importance, whether multi-strandedness is a criterion used in making that distinction.

Intensity - This construct represents an attempt to capture the affective depth of a network tie. Epstein (1969) describes intensity as the relative willingness of the anchoring person (parent) to forgo other considerations in order to fulfill the needs of a network member or make demands upon that member. He distinguishes between the affective and obligatory aspects of intensity. At this stage in our analysis we are operationalizing intensity only in categorical terms; that is, as those relationships which the parent defines as "most important" to her or him "for whatever reason." The parent is asked to look at the list of names generated early in the network interview and select from the total "those who are most important to you." What emerges from this process is an "inner circle" of relatives, neighbors, and friends which we call the primary circle. Thus intensity is addressed by us with the description "most important." Analysis of primary circle membership will provide us with a clearer idea of just what attributes primary circle members share.

Variables of interest in measuring intensity include, then:

-primary circle membership

-exchange multi-strandedness which includes emotional support (see earlier).

-frequency of contact

-duration of non-kin relationships (how long the parent has known the network member).

Supportiveness - The relationships that parents have with members of their personal social networks are not always positive. On the contrary, parents can be embedded in a set of relationships which create a great deal of stress and interfere with growth-producing childrearing patterns (Olds, Note 7; Belle, Note 5). It is, then, reasonable to characterize personal networks as more or less supportive based upon how dominated they are by "difficult" relationships. While reasonable in theory, however, accurate designation of network links along the supportiveness continuum is not easy to operationalize. Relationships tend not to be wholly supportive or unsupportive; rather they consist of more and less helpful elements, the sum of which can only be assessed by the parent her or himself, who is sensitive to the unique combination of demands and expectations which make up her/his particular situation.

Our method for assessing, at least crudely, the less as well as the more supportive aspects of parents' networks was to ask "Looking at your entire list of contacts, could you tell me whether you sometimes have a hard time getting along with someone? I mean that you might disagree or be in conflict with this person a fair amount of the time." Because specific members of the network are being identified as difficult, it is possible to describe in some detail the content of exchanges with these individuals, and their personal characteristics. For purposes of the analyses reported here, however, we limit ourselves to the following variables related to "difficult" contacts:

-total number of difficult members per network
-number of difficult kin members per network
-number of difficult non-kin members per network

Satisfaction - Unlike those preceding, the construct satisfaction does not originate from within the network tradition. Here we are treating the social network as a system of informal support, and asking the parent to evaluate it in those terms. Thus satisfaction with the network represents a subjective evaluation of how well it meets the self-imposed expectations of the parent. More phenomenological than the rest of our constructs, satisfaction is designed to capture the meaning of a particular network configuration to a given parent.

Satisfaction is measured both in relation to several general categories of support, and to the network as a whole. So after asking who the parent turns to for childcare and advice, we ask "How do you feel about the amount of support that you have when it comes to being a parent?" We ask the same kind of question again after learning who provides the parent with personal and emotional support. Then at the end of the interview we ask "How satisfied are you with the people you know and do things with?" Three variables have been coded for analysis, each on a five point scale:

-satisfaction with support in parenting role
-satisfaction with personal support
-overall satisfaction

Network Reserve - One of the important attributes of an informal support system is its capacity to respond to the needs of parents when they are in crisis. In fact, the support network has been defined as those persons available to the individual in times of crisis. Thus one can distinguish between the resources potentially available to a parent from network members, and those actually being utilized at any given moment. Another distinction of importance is between exchanges with network members during period of crisis in the life of a family and those occuring during relatively calm times.

We have not yet operationalized the network reserve construct. One way to do so would be through an examination of what we refer to later in this chapter as the "peripheral network." Another way might be to identify individuals within the total network who live within reasonable proximity of the family but with whom exchanges are relatively specialized and contact infrequent. These explorations and analyses represent opportunities for the future.

Homogeneity - This construct, also refered to as diversity, refers to how similar or dissimilar in social and personal characteristics network members are to the parent (Cochran & Brassard, 1979). The two major components of this construct, as we use it, are personal characteristics and broader societal position, or socioeconomic status. The personal characteristics of network members that we have documented are age, sex, number of children under age 10, race, ethnic origin, and religion. For socioeconomic status we have only occupation, and that only for network members who show up at the primary level. While a number of homogeneity-related variables have been created and are available for analysis, they are not a main focus of this report.

Before leaving this discussion of key constructs, it is important to underline for the reader an overriding conceptual distinction which will become more crucial later in the chapter when we are examining the demographic and network characteristics predicting the parent's satisfaction with the help and support provided by her network. There is a differentiation made in the network literature between the structural and relational properties of networks. Addressing that distinction vis a vis parents and children, Cochran and Brassard (1979) refer to relational characteristics as those aspects of the personal network which either evolve out of or directly affect the interactions between parent or child and network member. Thus the relations are dyadic, and the focus is on the nature of the link itself. Structural properties of networks, on the other hand, transcend individual membership and affect the beliefs, attitudes, and expectations shared by the network membership as a whole. In the discussion which follows, two of the contructs presented might be thought of as structural in character, centeredness, and homogeneity. Five others (resource strength, resource reserve, supportiveness, multistrandedness, and intensity) involve what goes on in the relations between parent and network members, and so can be called relational. The eighth construct, satisfaction with the network, is a perception by the parent rather than a characteristic of the network, and so cannot be included within the same conceptual frame. Instead network satisfaction is better thought of as associated with the concept of support, because the defining of social resources as "supportive" involves phenomenological as well as objective considerations.

A number of key networks concepts are not reflected in the constructs underlying our analyses which we discussed above. Perhaps most conspicuous by their absence are the concepts of density (Bott, 1957) and directionality (Kapferer, 1969). Both concepts are of interest to us, but neither proved feasible to pursue with the limited resources at our disposal. Those issues of exclusion and inclusion are discussed in our report to NIE dated May 23, 1980. We wish to emphasize here that, in our view, studies utilizing the concept of personal social network which do not measure density, or any other single network construct, are no less important than those which do. They are simply different studies undertaken for different purposes.

Data Preparation

Preparation of Social Networks data for baseline analysis has involved two major steps. The first step, that of variable creation, required that raw data measured at the level of individual network member be summarized at the parent or respondent level.

Variable Creation - As a result of this process of aggregating raw data at the parent level, two types of empirical variables have been constructed, which we refer to as first-order and second-order derived. First-order derived variables correspond to aggregated data; they include all those empirical variables which are simple counts, or tallies, of the number of contacts or functional exchanges at different network levels (i.e., total, peripheral, functional, and primary networks). Examples of first- order derived variables include "size" and "exchange content."

Second-order derived variables, by contrast, include all those empirical variables which represent relations among aggregated variables. Second-order variables are derived by imposing numerical or conceptual relations on first-order derived variables. Examples of second-order derived variables include: kin-linked exchanges, homogeneity, proximity, non-kin duration, and multi-strandedness.

The second step of data preparation, that of variable selection, involved deciding which empirical variables -- both first- and second-order derived -- would be carried over to the stages of data description and analysis. Three strategies have been employed to aid this process.

Variable selection - The first strategy relied on an examination of the percentage of respondents within each subclass that have non-zero values for any given derived variable. Here subclasses were defined by the intersection of design factors such as race of parent, family structure, and income and work status of mother. Under this strategy, the criterion for inclusion was defined as any variable with at least 50 percent of the respondents in that cell having a non-zero value. This strategy was intended to reduce significantly the number of derived variables that we subject to correlational analyses. The second strategy employed in the process of variable selection relied on the examination of correlational patterns between derived network variables and demographic characteristics of parents. This strategy is referred to later in this chapter as construct validation. The third strategy involved selection of variables for data analysis based on judgments of the special conceptual significance of given empirical measures.

Our goal in employing these three strategies has been to select those empirical variables which are most appropriate for three types of analyses: description of network features, construct validation, and the cross-concept linking of network characteristics with stress and support domains. This latter type of analysis will address the major hypotheses of the study.

The Topography of Parents' Networks

Figures 7.2 and 7.3 show some of the features we have mapped as part of our examination of parents' personal social networks.

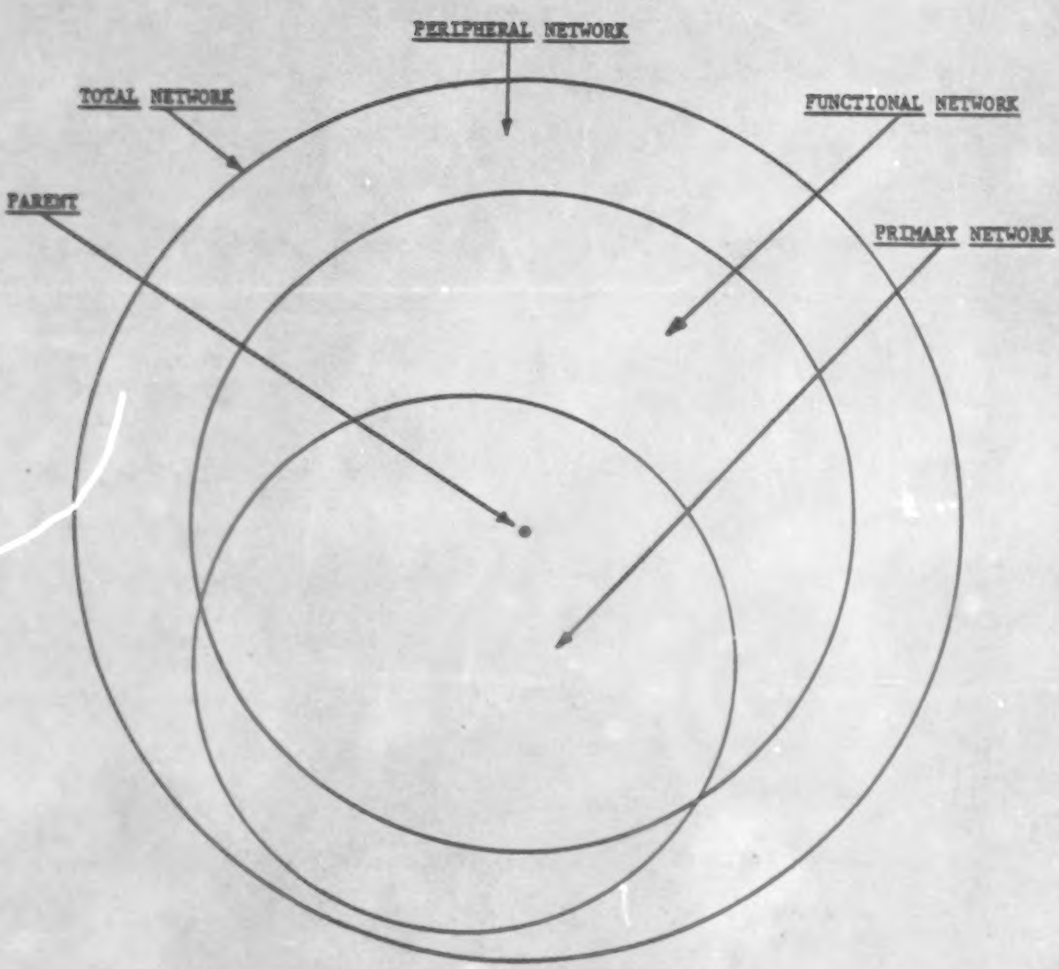
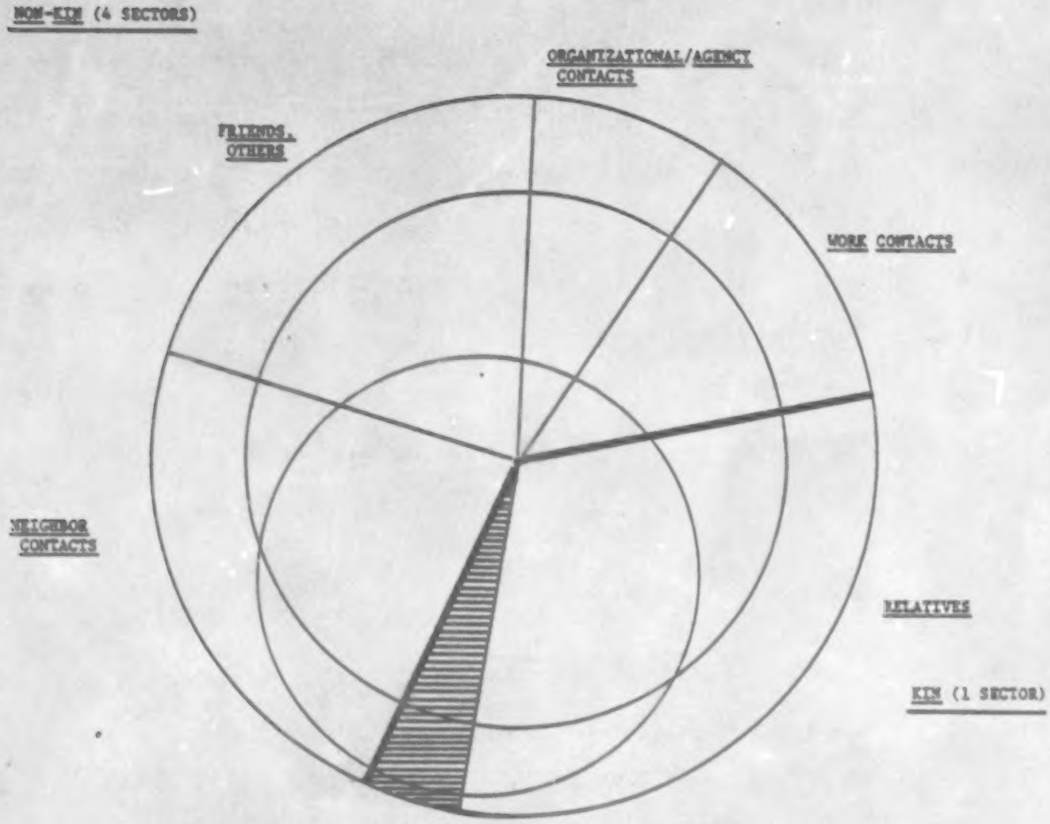

PERIPHERAL NETWORK
TOTAL NETWORK
FUNCTIONAL NETWORK
PARENT
PRIMARY NETWORK

Figure 7.2. Major divisions of a parent's network


NON-KIN (4 SECTORS)
ORGANIZATIONAL/AGENCY CONTACTS
FRIENDS, OTHERS
WORK CONTACTS
NEIGHBOR CONTACTS
RELATIVES
KIN (1 SECTOR)

Contacts who are both neighbors and kin (two-way role-multistranded).

Figure 7.3. Principle role sectors of a parent's network, superimposed on the Primary, Functional and Total Network areas.

In Figure 7.2 the reader can distinguish three circles, which we have designated primary, functional, and peripheral. Total membership in the network consists of those individuals outside the household* whom the parent lists as "important to (her/him) in one way or another." The functional circle includes all of those on the list whom the parent identifies as participating with her/him in one or more designated exchanges or activities. The primary circle consists of those in the total network who are identified by the parent as most important to her or him. Individuals listed as members of the total network who did not meet the criteria for either the functional or the primary circle make up the periphery.

Figure 7.3 shows that the total network can also be divided up based upon the role relationships that members have with the parent. In the figure, the thick dark lines are used to emphasize the critical distinction between kin and non-kin. Non-kin can be further distinguished as neighbors, workmates, organization or agency contacts, and other friends. The shaded area is used to illustrate the construct we referred to earlier as role multi-strandedness, in this case, network members who are both relatives and neighbors. The reader can see that these role-related differentiations penetrate all of the levels in our network map.

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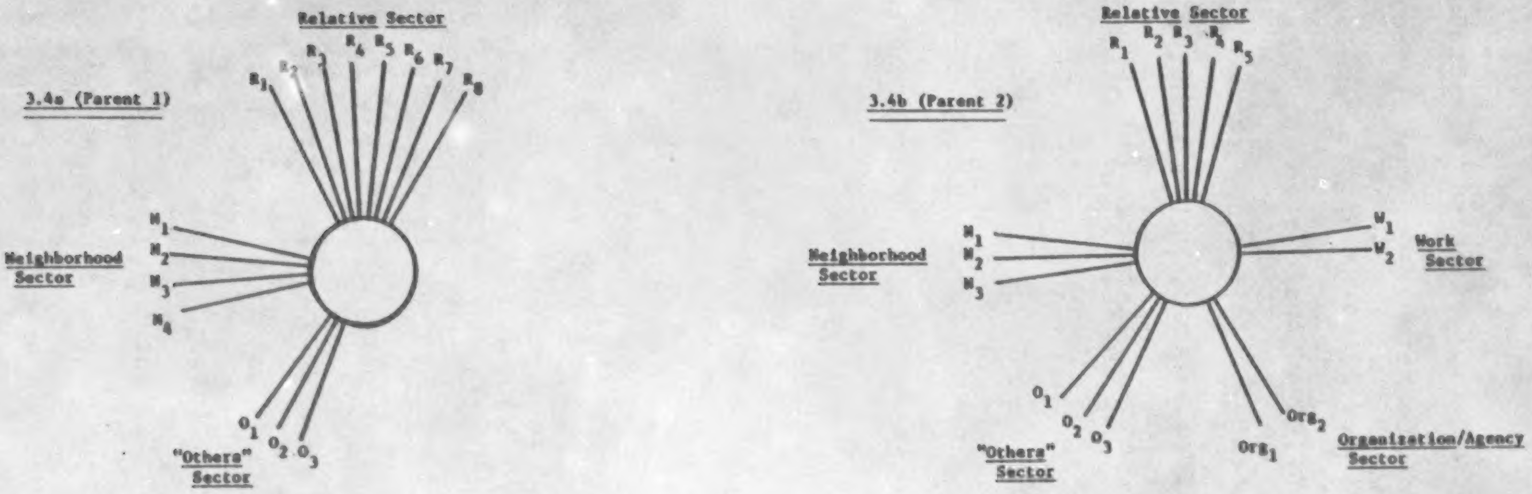
* We excluded household members from the network in the baseline version of the networks interview. During follow-up, however, the parents will be asked whether they wish to include household members in their networks as a way of taking account of family arrangements which include more than the spouse and/or siblings of the target child.

Figures 7.4a - 7.4d provide concrete examples of patterns that emerged from the analysis of the networks of our Syracuse parents. Figure 7.4a illustrates how networks of the same overall size can have quite different configurations due to the range of role relations presented in them. In this case, parent 1 is void in the work and organization sectors, while parent 2 has the full range of roles represented. Networks can also have quite different configurations due to the relative distribution of kin and non-kin within them. Figure 7.4b (again controlling for overall size) the network of parent 2 illustrates the pattern emerging when kin predominate, while parent 1's network reflects non-kin predominance. (See the earlier discussion of kin predominance and dominance.)

Factors Affecting Patterns of Informal Support
Results from Descriptive Analyses

Are there social and economic factors external to support networks which so affect their structual and internal workings that separate models of analysis should be utilized in order to understand fully the networks of parents with sharply contrasting demographic characteristics? Our ecological orientation leads us to hypothesize that there are such factors operating on the networks of American parents. Specifically, we were interested in the possible significance of family income, ethnicity, marital status, and work status on the size of parents' networks and the content of exchanges they engaged in with network members. Tables 7.1, 7.2, and 7.3 show how our sample is distributed according to those four background factors.

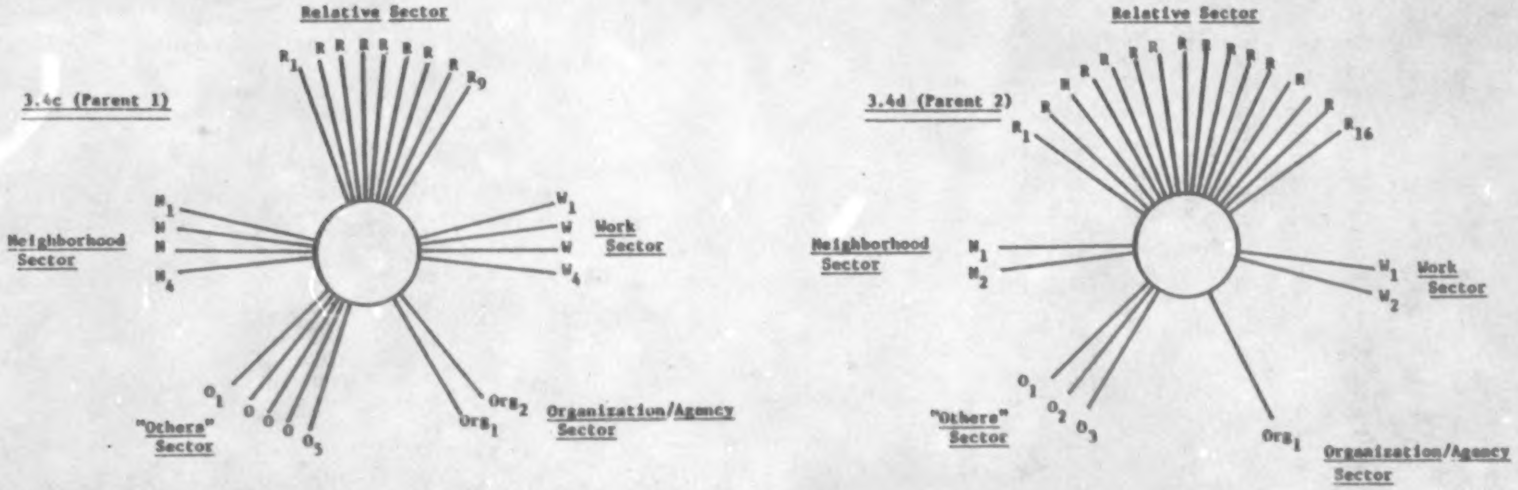
RANGE OF ROLE RELATIONS (SIZE OF TOTAL NETWORK = 15)


3.4a (Parent 1)

3.4b (Parent 2)

Relative Sector
R1
R2
R3
R4
R5
R6
R7
R8
Neighborhood Sector
N1
N2
N3
N4
"Others" Sector
O1
O2
O3
Relative Sector
R1
R2
R3
R4
R5
Neighborhood Sector
N1
N2
N3
W1
W2
Work Sector
O1
O2
O3
"Others" Sector
Org1
Org2
Organization/Agency Sector

DISTRIBUTION OF CONTACTS ACROSS ROLES (SIZE OF TOTAL NETWORK = 24)


3.4c (Parent 1)

3.4d (Parent 2)

Relative Sector
R1
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R9
Neighborhood Sector
N1
N
N
N4
W1
W
W
W4
Work Sector
O1
O
O
O
O5
"Others" Sector
Org1
Org2
Organization/Agency Sector
Relative Sector
R1
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R
R16
Neighborhood Sector
N1
N2
W1
W2
Work Sector
O1
O2
O3
"Others" Sector
Org1
Organization/Agency Sector

Figure 7.4 a-d. Examples of actual network configurations

Tables 7.1-7.3
Non-Black Mothers only
Cell Sizes of Major Demographic Categories in the Sample

7.1

	Working		Non-Working		
	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic	n
Single	9	13	10	16	48
Married	27	42	42	50	161
n	36	55	52	66	209

7.2

	Single		Married		
	Working	Not Work	Working	Not Work	n
Low income	16	22	2	18	58
Mod income	6	4	33	47	90
Mid income	0	0	31	27	58
n	22	26	66	92	206*

7.3

	Single		Married		
	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic	Ethnic	Non-Ethnic	n
Low income	16	22	8	14	60
Mod income	3	7	40	41	91
Mid income	0	0	21	37	58
n	19	31	69	92	209

* This inconsistency in the total number of nonblack mothers in the sample is due to a failure to recode as "married" three mothers who separated during the study, but after social networks data had been collected.

Table 7.1 presents the work status of the mothers in our sample, broken down by ethnicity and marital status. Because the sample contains only 48 white single mothers, we must be especially careful to examine the distribution of that group across the demographic factors of interest. As the reader can see, that subsample is fairly well distributed by ethnicity and work status. A look at tables 7.2 and 7.3 indicates, however, that single parents are not evenly distributed across income levels, regardless of work status or ethnic background. And within our sub-sample of white, married mothers the distribution of working to non-working women is very uneven at the lowest income level. This is somewhat true for ethnicity at the low income level as well, although not to as great an extent.

One conclusion to be drawn from these distributions is that in order to control for the effects of income, comparisons of single with married mothers should be limited to the low income subsample. A second conclusion is that we must be extremely careful about how we interpret any analyses of that married sub-sample which includes both work status and ethnicity.

Married vs. Single Mothers

The limitations placed on statistical procedures by the nature of our sample might press us to analyze separately data gathered from, say, one- and two-parent families. However, much firmer grounds for such decisions would be major substantive differences in the networks of single and married mothers, mothers at different income levels, those working and not working, or mothers coming from ethnic and non-ethnic backgrounds. In the figures below we present the profiles of network size and content variables which have been used to guide subsequent decisions about how to structure the analyses for construct validation and the building of models relating structural to relational network variables. In addition, the profiles serve to familiarize the reader with several of the role and intensity-related distinctions which were introduced in the section headed "Empirically Grounded Constructs" (kin/non-kin, total, functional and primary network levels).

The various size dimensions of the networks of single and married parents are compared in Figures 7.5a - 7.5f This comparison is limited to low-income parents because almost 80% of the single mothers in our sample fall into that income category. (See Chapter 2 for the definition of low income.) At the total network level (TN), the reader can see that the size of the network is slightly larger for married than for single mothers (married mean = 19.2, single mean = 17.7). More interesting, perhaps, is the fact that the networks of low-income, white single parents are more likely to consist of non-relatives (neighbors, workmates, other friends) than are those of their married counterparts (Figure 7.5a). This difference is more apparent when the several non-kin categories are combined together (Figure 7.5b). The contrast becomes sharper at the functional, or content-related, level of the network, with married mothers reliant upon kin and singles upon non-kin (7.5c & 7.5d). The pattern is maintained at the primary level ("most important" members) but with a distinction among non-kin between neighbors and other friends (7.5e & 7.5f). At this primary level, overall size of membership has reversed

TOTAL NETWORK

Fig. 7.5a

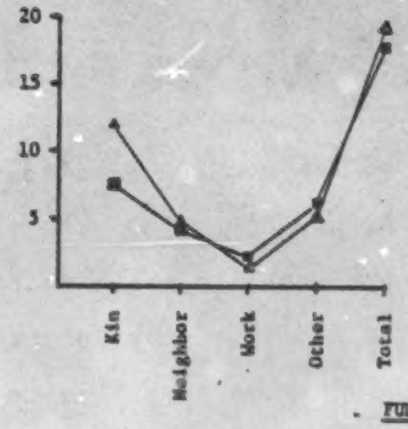
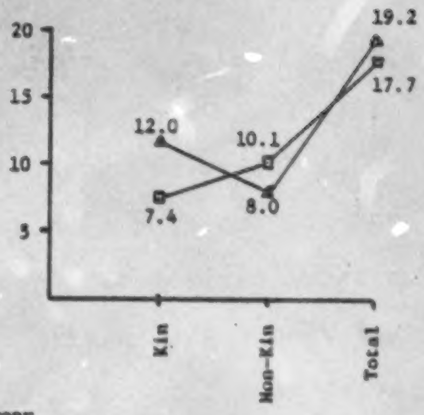


Fig. 7.5b



FUNCTIONAL NETWORK

Fig. 7.5c

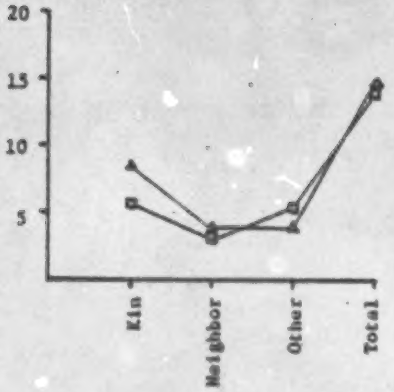
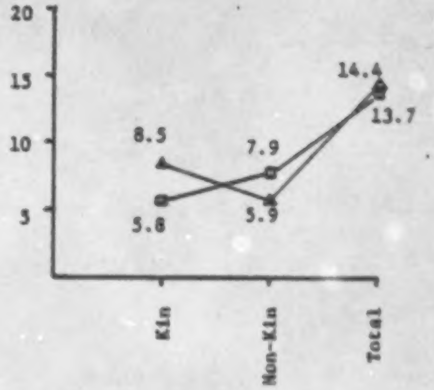


Fig. 7.5d



PRIMARY NETWORK

Fig. 7.5e

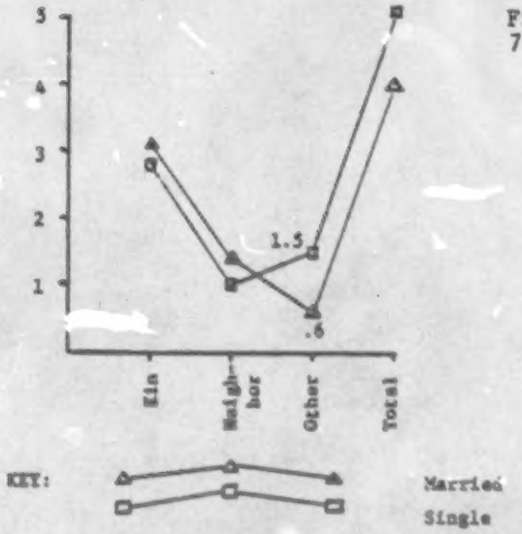


Fig. 7.5f

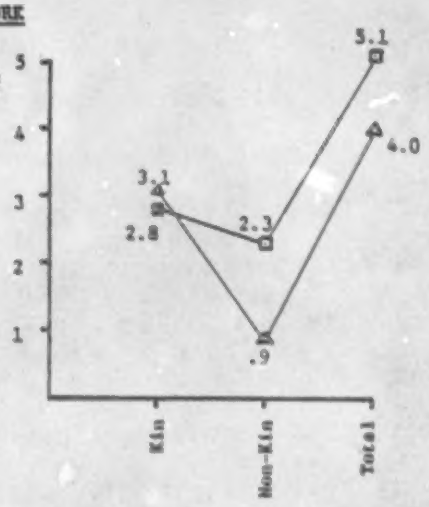


Figure 7.5a - 7.5f Nonblack mothers; Network size dimensions by marital status

itself, with single mothers now including a larger number of contacts than mothers who are married.

Looking beyond size, one can examine the amount of assistance that mothers report as being available to them in a number of different categories. "Amount" consists of the mean number of network members who are designated by the mother as individuals to whom she turns for assistance of a particular sort. Figure 7.6 is used to compare single with married mothers within several network exchange categories. The comparisons are at the functional level of the network, and distinguish kin from non-kin as well as providing an overall picture. The data presented in Figure 7.6 indicate that, despite having a somewhat smaller functional network than do married mothers, mothers who are single report more overall support of the child-related and emotional varieties than do those who are married. Non-kin again emerge as more salient for single than married mothers.

Two aspects of the social world surrounding these mothers can be hypothesized to affect the size and utilization of the networks they have described for us. First, there is the presence of the spouse in the lives of the married mothers who is not included in their networks (at our request) but who performs a number of important social functions for those mothers. His presence could easily account for the smaller primary networks reported by the married mothers, and their lesser reliance upon network members for emotional support. Second, and related to the first, is the effect on the kin sector of the network caused, on the one hand, by having a husband, and on the other by having a three-year-old child without the "benefits" of marriage.

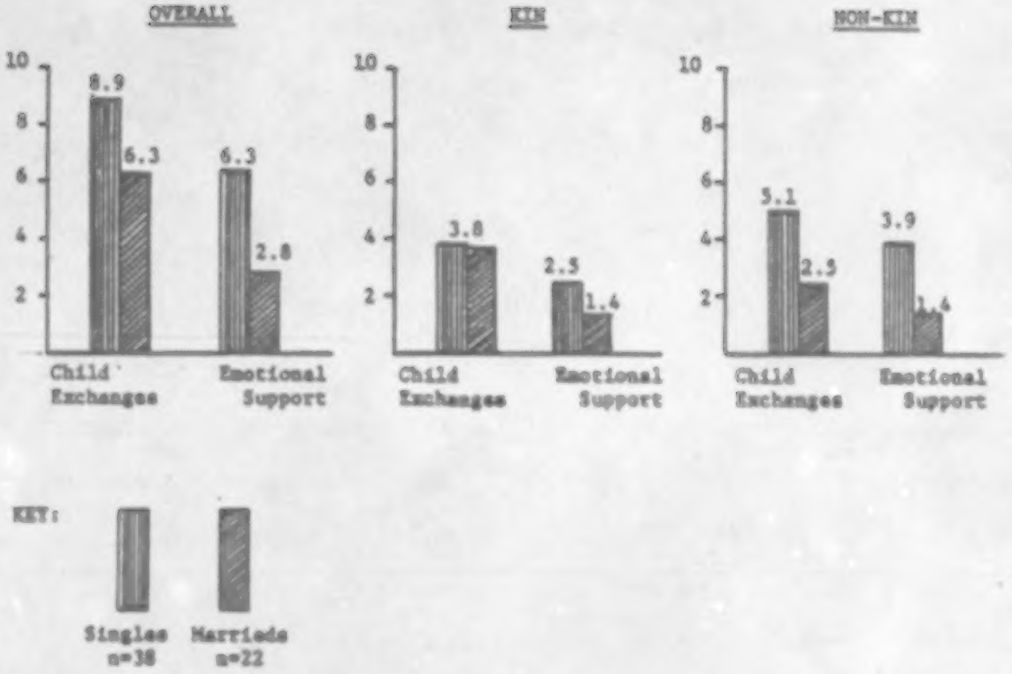


Figure 7.6 Single and married, non-Black, low income mothers; comparison of mean number of contacts from selected exchanges.

Having a husband provides access to a second set of relatives with whom to engage in exchanges.* Not having one may not only close off avenues to the relatives of the child's father, it may also create tension with one's own relatives, making non-kin a more comfortable social arena for exchanges related to the child and to emotional needs.

Mothers at Three Income Levels

We have already pointed out several times that very few of the single mothers in the sample have family incomes above $10,000. Therefore, an examination of how income affects network size and content must necessarily be limited to our married sample. The network sizes of low-, moderate-, and middle-income mothers are compared in Figure 7.7 again at the total, functional and primary levels. The pattern in all the profiles making up Figures 7.7a - 7.7f is remarkably consistent. At every level of the network both overall size and size of the non-kin sector vary directly with family income. This difference is most pronounced at the primary network level (Figures 7.7e & 7.7f).It is stronger for non-kin than kin at the total and functional levels, but shifts to kin with primary members (7.7f).

Figure 7.8, which presents the amount of assistance reported as available to mothers through exchanges with network members

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* Much of the difference between single and married mothers in the size of their total network is due to the presence of more "extended kin" in the married mothers' networks. A full definition of extended kin is available upon request. It includes respondents' in-laws and collateral kin. It does not include spouse's parents, who from our perspective are considered "immediate or nuclear."

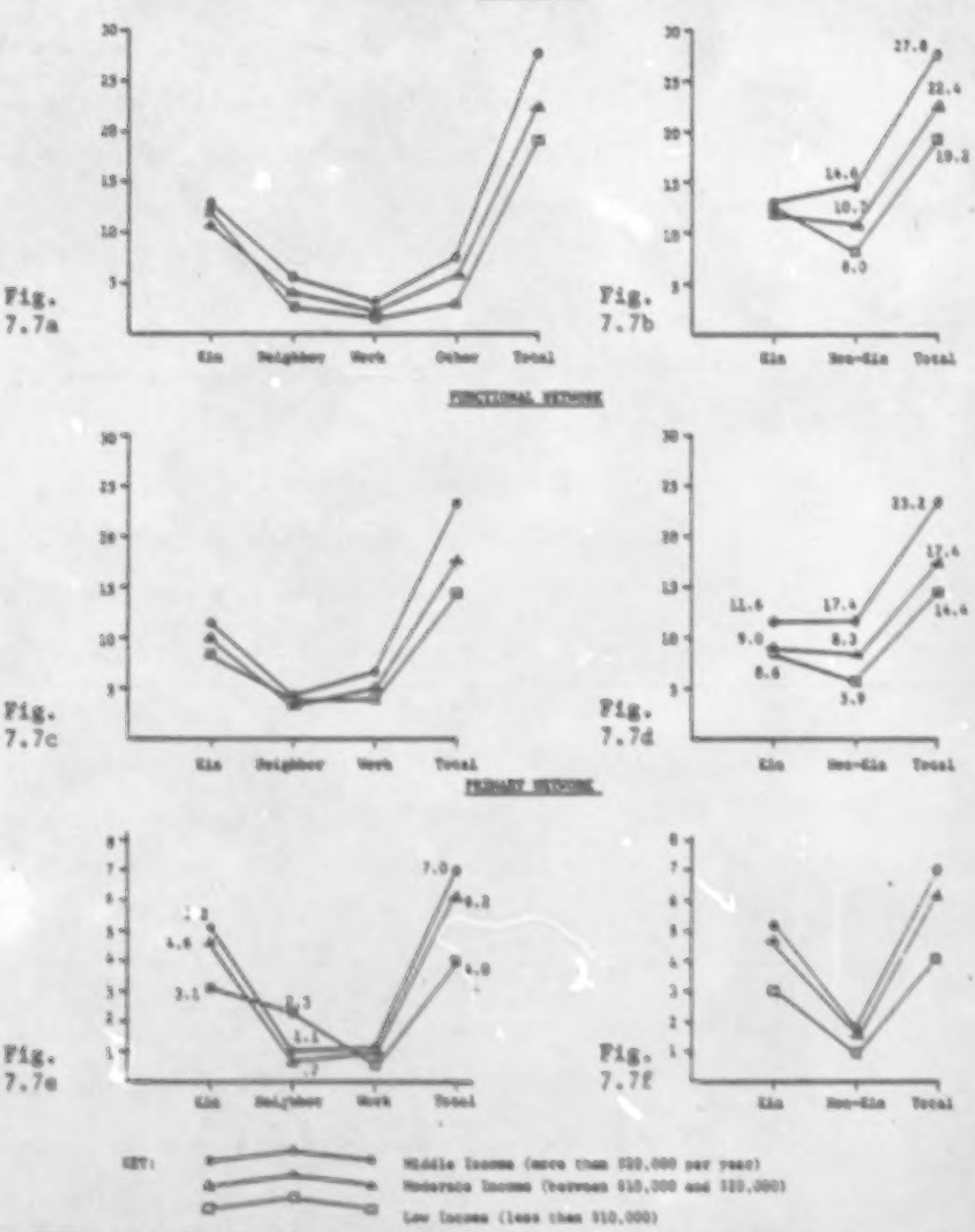

Figure 7.7 a-f. Married Non-Black Mothers in Three Income Groups; Network Size Means

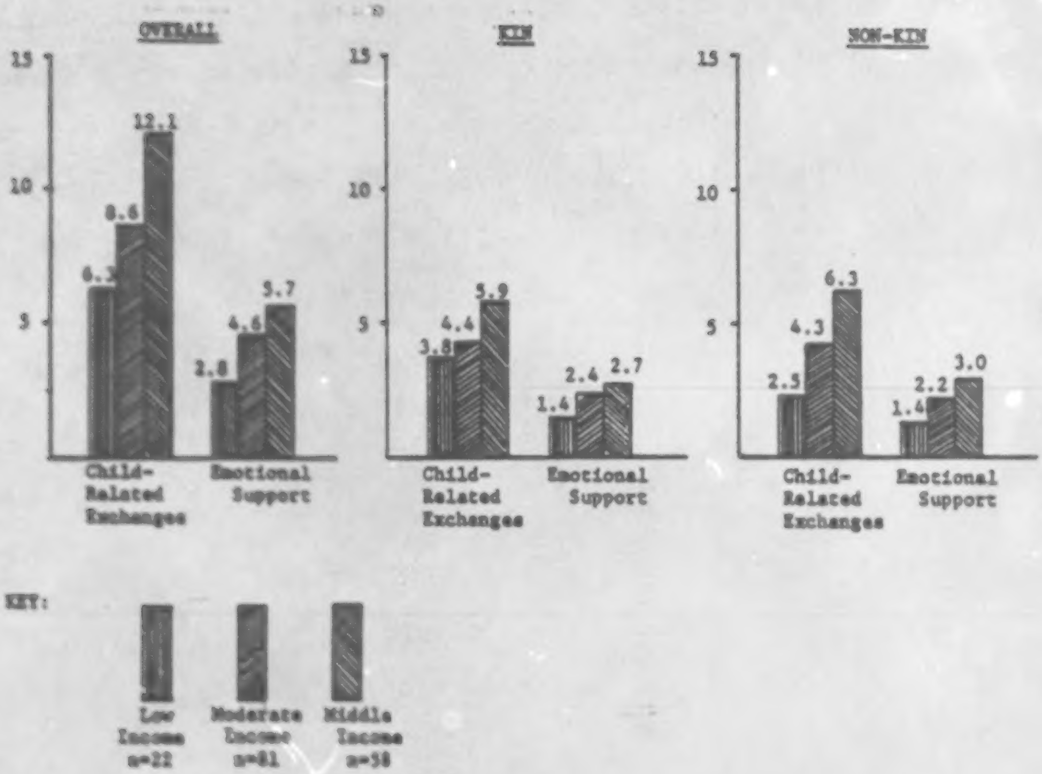

Figure 7.8 Married, non-Black mothers, at three income levels; comparison of mean number of contacts from selected exchanges.

contains the same patterns by income level evidenced in Figures 7.7a - 7.7f. The difference in favor of mothers with higher family incomes is most evident when kin and non-kin are combined, but manifests itself in both the kin and non-kin sectors as well.

Why should income be reflected in network size? A number of hypotheses immediately come to mind. Income correlates highly with education, and education beyond high school may bring with it a wider circle of contacts outside the kin network. The jobs which provide greater income to parents may also bring with them greater access to social relationships which carry through beyond the workplace. It costs money to maintain contact with people who can only be reached by mail, telephone, or automobile/train/airplane, so those costs may cut the poor off from kinfolk they mig otherwise think of as part of their networks. Most of the hypotheses implicit in these possible explanations for the effects of income on mothers' networks can be tested with our own data, and will be when time permits.

Ethnicity: The Size and Multistrandedness of Mothers' Networks

In Figure 7.9a-d, we present profiles based on the comparison of ethnic with non-ethnic mothers at the three income levels.[*] The small numbers of mothers in the two low-income cells remind us of the need to be cautious with these comparisons. The profiles seem to suggest, however, an interaction between income and ethnicity at the functional level of the network. The picture

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[*] Parents were classified in non-ethnic based upon their responses to an open ended question about their cultural background. Categories of responses, and percentages for each category, are provided in Table 7.4.

FUNCTIONAL NETWORK

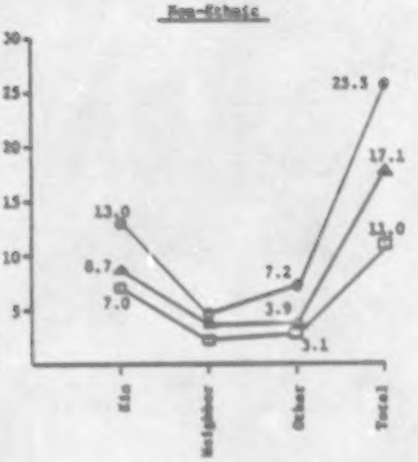

Fig.
7.9a

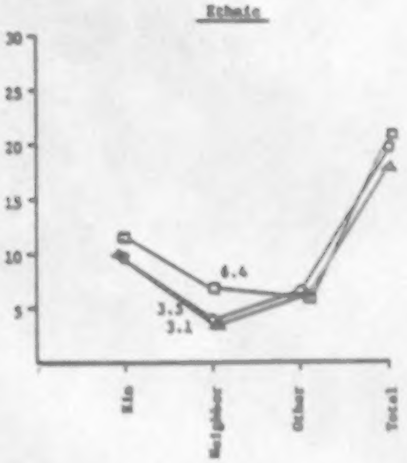

Fig.
7.9b

FUNCTIONAL NETWORK WITH COLLAPSED NON-KIN CATEGORIES

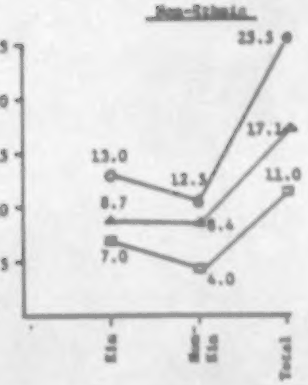

Fig.
7.9c

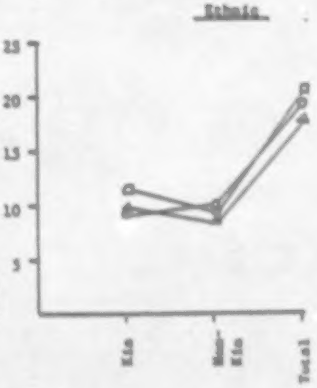

Fig.
7.9d

KEY:
○ Middle Income (more than $20,000 per year)
▲ Moderate Income (between $10,000 and $20,000)
□ Low Income (less than $10,000)

Figure 7.9 a-d. Married Non-Black Mothers; Size of Functional Network, Compared Across Income Levels and for Ethnic/Non-Ethnic.

Table 7.4

Non-Black Mothers

Frequency Counts of Actual Ethnicity Responses

by Marital Status

	Ethnic n = 89			Non-Ethnic n = 122		
Singles n = 49*	Irish	9	45%	None	3	10.3%
	Italian	5	25	American Cult. Gen.	19	65.5
	Polish	2	10	English	3	10.3
	German	4	20	Western European	2	6.9
		20	100%	Mixture	2	6.9
					29	99.9%
Marrieds n = 162*	Italian	22	31.9%	American Cult. Gen.	56	60.2%
	Irish	14	20.3	English	17	18.3
	German	13	18.8	Western European	10	10.8
	Polish	6	8.7	Scandinavian	1	1.1
	Eastern European	4	5.8	None	6	6.5
	Mid. Eastern	3	4.3	Mixture	3	3.2
	French Canadian	2	2.9		93	100.1%
	Jewish	1	1.5			
	N. American Indian	1	1.5			
	Mexican	1	1.5			
	Greek	1	1.5			
	Asian	1	1.5			
		69	100.2%			

*These figures include one extra single and one extra married mother, for whom Family Background data was gathered, but not Social Networks data.

for non-ethnic mothers looks very much like that seen in Figure 7.7, except with somewhat greater spread between the income levels, while for ethnic mothers the income levels are virtually indistinguishable. At the primary network level, however (see Figures 7.10 a-d), the effect of ethnicity on the relationship between income level and network size appears to be somewhat diminished (Figures 7.9 c and d). Further analyses will be needed to tease out the meaning of the apparent joint effects of ethnicity and income level on network size at the functional and primary levels.

The concept "multistrandedness" refers to dyadic network linkages which contain multiple role or exchange contents (see earlier under "constructs," and Figure 7.3). Here we have restricted descriptive analyses to a consideration of the relationship between ethnicity and exchange multistrandedness.

Summary data involving exchange multistrandedness (XMS) are included in Table 7.5. The three content categories provided are those instances in which network members were reported to be available to the parent for four, three, and two categories of exchange. The categories are independent; degree four is not subsumed in degree three, nor degree three in degree two. Both single and married mothers are included, although the data for married mothers combine all three income levels.

It is not really possible from these data to argue on behalf of a consistent "ethnicity effect." The patterns are quite similar at both the functional and primary network levels, in multistrandedness of kin and nonkin as well as the two combined. A comparison of reported kin non-kin usage between single and

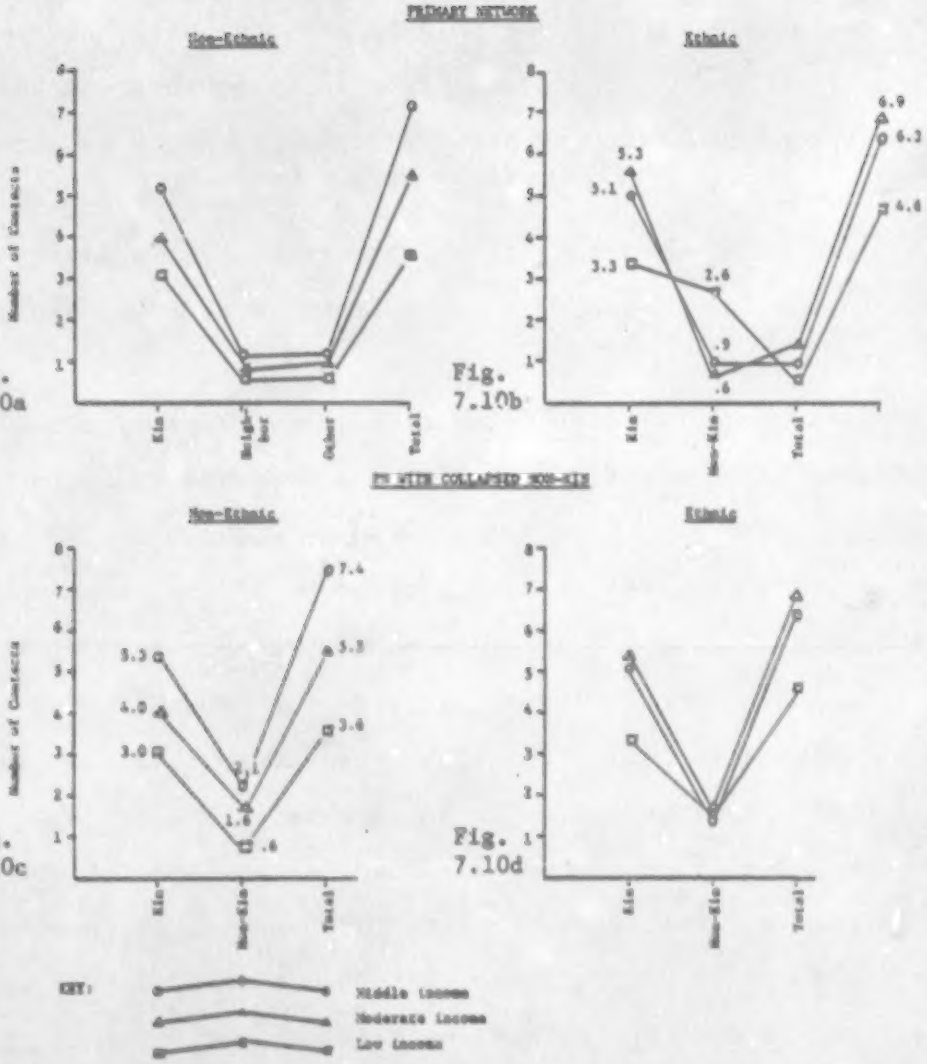

Fig. 7.10a

Fig. 7.10b

Fig. 7.10c

Fig. 7.10d

Figure 7.10 a-d. Married, Non-Black Mothers; Size of Primary Networks, Compared Across Income Levels and for Ethnic/Non-Ethnic.

TABLE 7.5

Exchange Multi-Strandedness For Functional and Primary Network by Marital Status and Ethnicity

		Singles			Marrieds		
		Contacts with Degree 4 xms	Contacts with Degree 3 xms	Contacts with Degree 2 xms	Contacts with Degree 4 xms	Contacts with Degree 3 xms	Contacts with Degree 2 xms
Functional Network							
Non-Ethnic	Total	2.00 (3.05)	2.48 (2.05)	3.97 (3.57)	1.30 (1.76)	2.98 (2.87)	4.33 (3.81)
	Kin	1.07 (2.03)	1.07 (1.28)	1.21 (1.08)	.80 (1.15)	1.70 (1.47)	2.16 (2.09)
	Non-Kin	.93 (1.41)	1.41 (1.55)	2.76 (3.39)	.50 (1.12)	1.28 (2.00)	2.16 (2.66)
Ethnic	Total	1.73 (1.82)	2.79 (2.84)	4.11 (3.57)	1.36 (1.86)	2.71 (2.57)	4.09 (3.97)
	Kin	.63 (.90)	1.42 (1.54)	1.84 (1.80)	.80 (1.07)	1.72 (1.73)	2.01 (2.22)
	Non-Kin	1.11 (1.33)	1.37 (1.95)	2.26 (2.47)	.57 (1.32)	.99 (1.79)	2.07 (2.73)
Primary Network		4	3	2	4	3	2
Non-Ethnic	Total	1.41 (1.78)	1.24 (1.66)	1.03 (1.30)	1.03 (1.39)	1.74 (1.79)	1.30 (1.59)
	Kin	.76 (1.15)	.48 (.87)	.52 (.87)	.72 (1.05)	1.14 (1.12)	.99 (1.29)
	Non-Kin	.66 (1.11)	.76 (1.06)	.52 (.91)	.32 (.71)	.60 (1.09)	.32 (.75)
Ethnic	Total	1.16 (1.07)	1.68 (2.38)	1.47 (1.90)	1.01 (1.30)	1.57 (1.64)	1.32 (1.54)
	Kin	.58 (.77)	1.00 (1.20)	.74 (.93)	.72 (1.04)	1.12 (1.42)	.97 (1.41)
	Non-Kin	.58 (.77)	.68 (1.60)	.74 (1.52)	.29 (.69)	.45 (.80)	.35 (.68)

n's:

	Singles	Marrieds
Non-Ethnic	29	92
Ethnic	19	69

KEY: 2.00 = Mean
(3.05) = Standard Deviation

married mothers reveals the pattern observed earlier for network size and content; greater involvement with non-kin, and less with kin, by single than married mothers.

It is possible, by totaling across the three degrees of exchange multistrandedness, to obtain an estimate of the "overall multistrandedness" found in the networks of single and married ethnic and non-ethnic mothers. This total, when divided by the mean size of the functional or primary networks for each of these subgroups, will yield a "percent multistranded" figure which indicates what proportion of the network is reported to engage in at least two exchanges with the parent. Those percentages at the functional level for the mothers in our sample are: ethnic singles, 59.5%; non-ethnic singles, 63.4%; ethnic married, 44.3%; non-ethnic married, 44.1%. The reader can see that substantial differences exist in percent of membership utilized for more than one exchange content area, and that these differences are between single and married rather than ethnic and non-ethnic mothers. Further analysis will be required to determine how much of the apparent difference by marital status is in fact carried by income, since the single mothers have a lower income as a group than do those who are married.

The Effects of Work Status

A recurrent pattern emerging from the data presented thus far has been the greater involvement with non-kin by single than married mothers, when income is held constant. This pattern has manifested itself both in membership at every level of the network and in content-related exchange. The workplace is one of those sectors from which mothers are apt to draw non-kin into their networks. The graphs in Figure 7.11 (a-b) show the effect that involvement in the work sector has on single and married mothers. Looking at Figures 7.11 a and 7.11 b the reader can see that working adds noticably to the total size of mothers' networks, regardless of marital status. The effect may be a little greater for married mothers, but again further analysis is needed to disentangle the effects of income from marital status. Comparison of graphs c and d shows that what differential effect exists is manifested at the functional level of the network. Working appears to lead to utilization of a wider range of network members, many of whom are relatives as well as non-relatives. For single mothers, working seems to depress somewhat reliance on kin, without involving non-kin to a proportionately greater degree. Perhaps this is because the income from the job reduces the dependence of single mothers on relatives to some degree, but the additional time constraints imposed by the job do not permit the correspondingly greater exchange with non-kin in the content areas examined by our research. The increase in non-kin is manifested at the total network level, but doesn't filter down into the exchanges we have been interested in.

The data in Figures 7.11e and 7.11f indicate that membership at the primary level of the network is not appreciably affected by the working status of either single or married mothers.

Figure 7.12 shows how differences in membership at the functional level translate into reported exchange. From these data it appears that single mothers do "give up" exchange with some network members by participating in the labor market.

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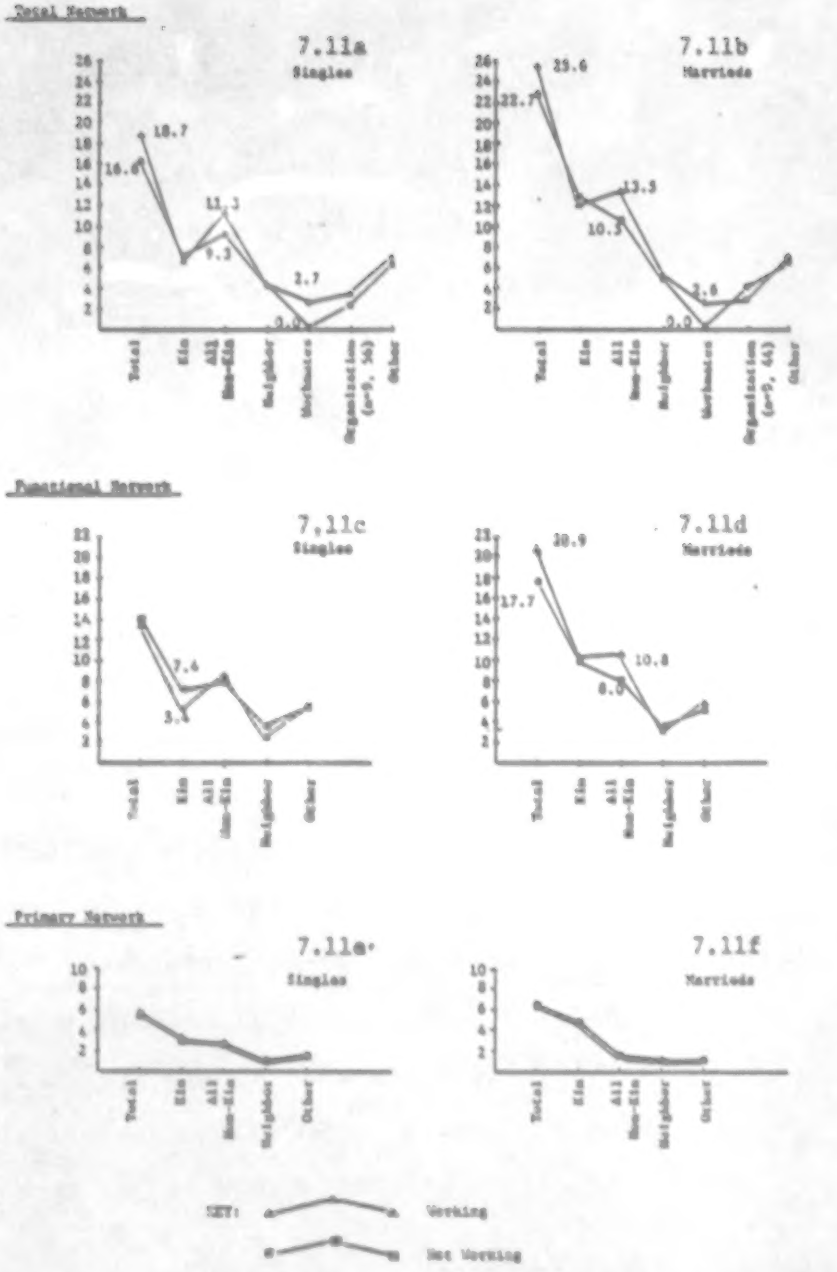

Figure 7.11 a-f. Single and married, Non-Black Mothers; Network Size by Work Status.

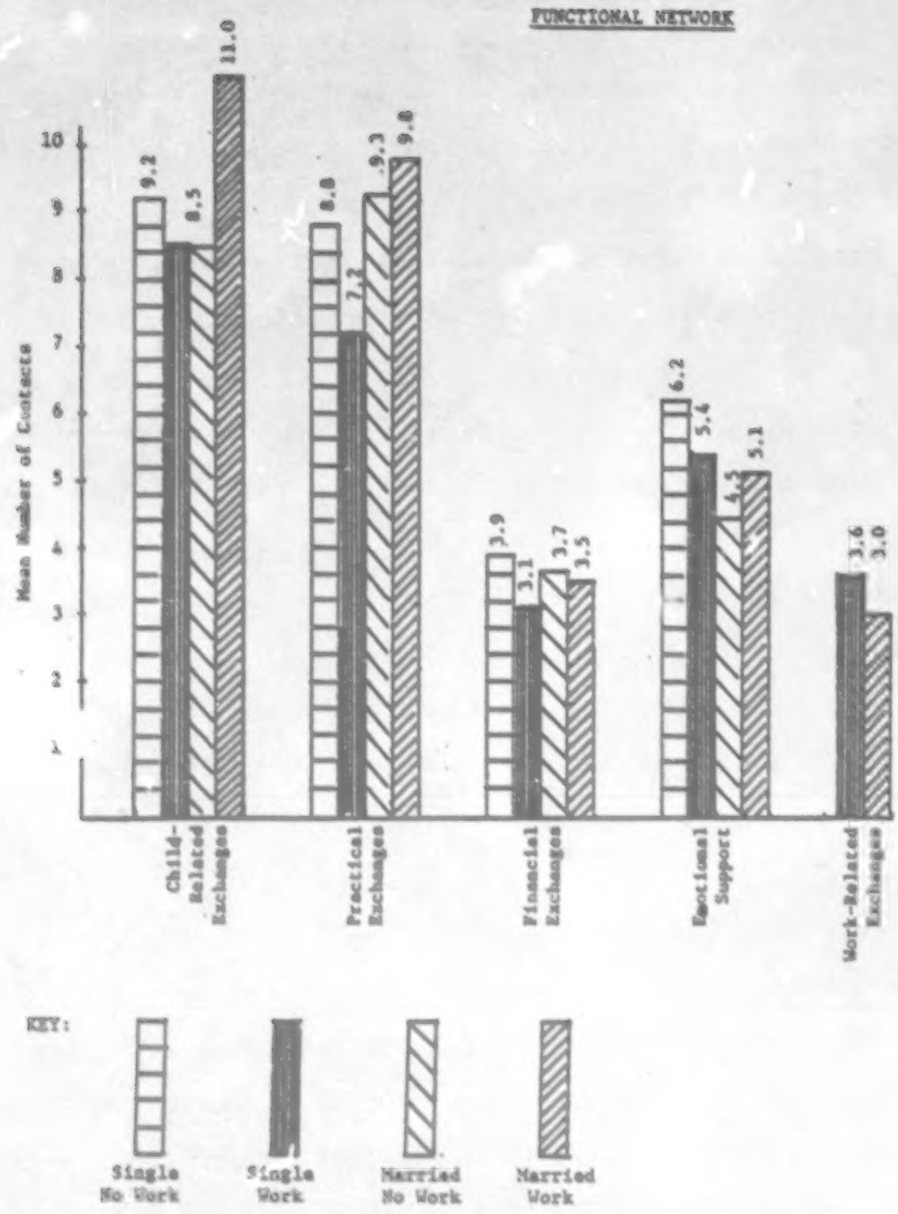

Figure 7.12. Non-Black mothers; Means for Functional Network exchanges, by marital status and work status.

We cannot tell from these data, however, how much of what was given up was as much burden as benefit, nor whether the beginning of contact with those retained as partners in exchange increased to compensate for the reduced number of active participants. The pattern for married mothers is generally of increased exchange accompanying employment, especially in the child-related areas. It will be interesting to see whether this turns out to be equally true at all income levels.

Several patterns are visible from a comparison of Figures 7.13 a and b. The increases in exchange reported by employed married mothers come primarily from non-relatives. For single mothers in the work force the reductions in exchange appear to be quite evenly distributed between kin and non-kin except for emotional support, where the drop is almost exclusively in the kin sector of the network.

Summary

We began this section of the chapter by asking the question of whether there are social and economic factors external to personal social networks which so affect their structural and internal working that they deserve special attention in the analysis -- both of networks themselves and of the way networks affect and are affected by the internal workings of the family. The answer to that question, based upon our review of available data, must be a resounding "yes." It is clear from our networks data that single and married mothers live in two different social worlds, even when they have the same amount of family income to use in running their families. Married mothers are kin-oriented;

Fig. 7.13a

Fig. 7.13b

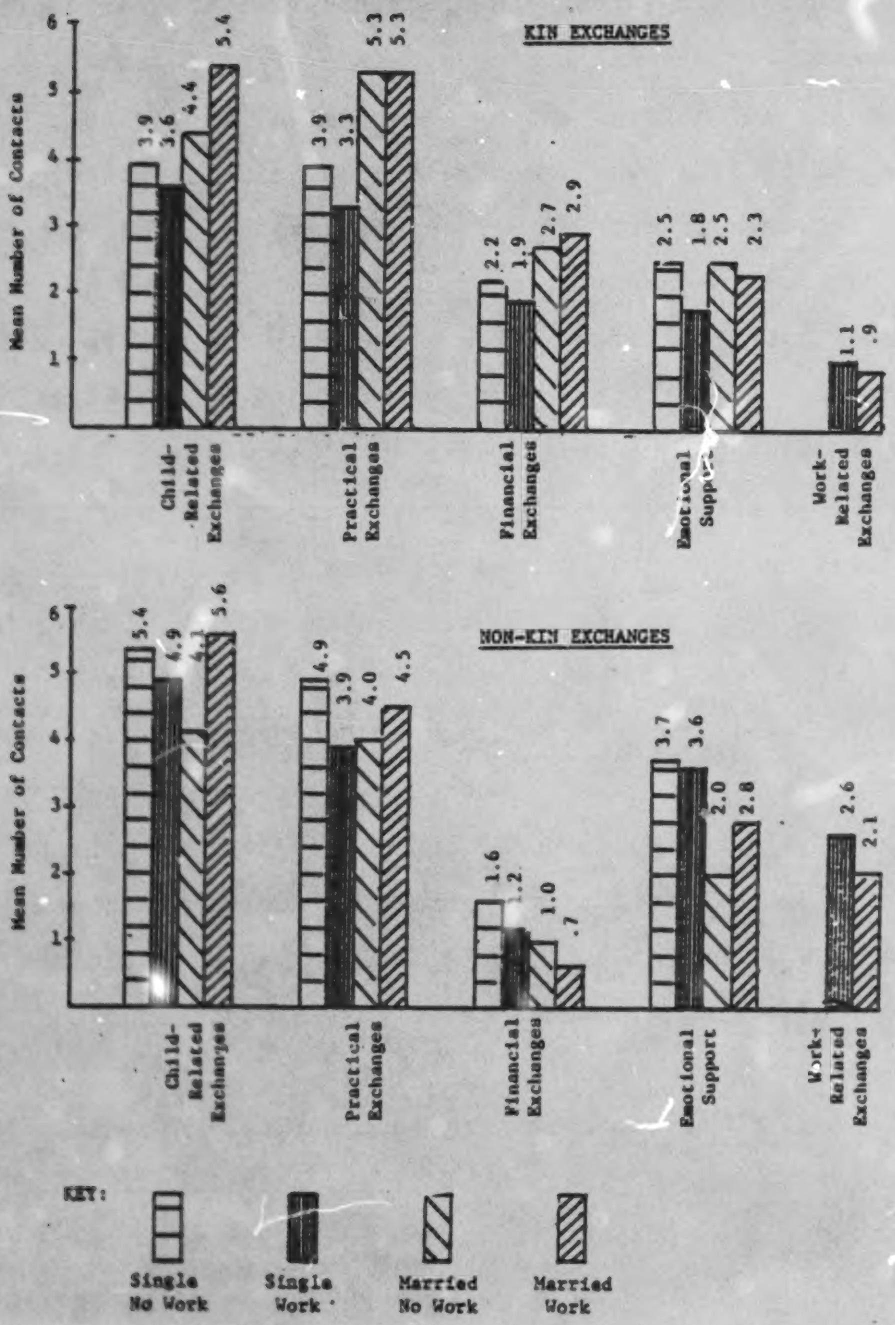

Figure 7.13 a-b. Non-Black mothers; Means for kin and non-kin Functional Network exchanges, by marital status and work status.

single mothers rely much more upon unrelated friends. Married mothers have more single-stranded, or specialized, exchange relationships; single mothers are more likely to rely upon the same person for several different kinds of assistance. Job-holding mothers who are married expand the range of people they exchange sources with; those who are single contract that range. The social networks of married mothers seem to be affected by their ethnic status; the marital status of single mothers seems to override their ethnicity in its effects on their networks. A number of explanations can be put forward to explain the differences in these patterns of network structure and exchange. Married mothers have spouses, who both contribute to the social world themselves and bring with them networks of relatives and friends. Single parenthood status has stigma attached to it, which probably affects what resources are available from network members, especially in ethnic families. Single mothers, because they are raising children alone, face time allocation pressures not felt quite so acutely by married mothers, and so may be less able to spread their activities among a large number of network members and be more apt to rely heavily on a smaller set of relatives and friends. And single mothers are almost always economically deprived.

The amount of income coming into a family affects both the size of the network and the resources utilized within it, independent of marital status. The descriptive evidence presented here leads us to hypothesize that economic security provides a foundation for expanded social relations, perhaps through an educational broadening of horizons and through the capacity to pay the cost of maintaining contact with a larger number of network contacts (time, telephone, postage, automobile, etc.).

Ethnicity, when viewed from the network perspective, has proved to be somewhat elusive in form and content. On the one hand, strong ethnic ties seemed to wash out the effects of income on network size. On the other hand, the solidarity and close-knittedness commonly associated with ethnic communities was not manifested in unusually high degrees of exchange multistrandedness within the social links maintained by our "ethnic" mothers. We are left with the impression that ethnicity "matters" for personal networks, but are unsure about the parameters of those effects.

Holding a job clearly increases the size of the informal network. Our data suggest that for married mothers this increase might well have special significance for the child; network members involved in child-related exchanges are reported in substantially larger numbers by job-holders than by mothers who are not employed. We wonder whether this expanded social environment might not contribute significantly to the positive attitudes of employed mothers reported so often in the research literature, and documented qualitatively in our own work chapter (Chapter 5); these larger networks may produce a feeling of self-worth which is generated perhaps by a kind of recognition that only social contacts outside the immediate family can provide. If such feelings exist in relation to employment, and translate into exchanges on behalf of the child, then these relationships should manifest themselves in the analyses linking the external environment with perceptions of family members. These analyses form the basis of Chapter 4 .

One conclusion that we have drawn from these comparisons is that our analytical models should be built somewhat differently for single and married mothers. The second conclusion is that income, ethnicity, and work status should be included as factors or covariates in these models, if statistically possible.

The Validity of Network Variables

In this section we report the results of procedures undertaken to determine whether the variables being used to build network constructs have validity; that is, whether our constructs are measuring what we had intended them to measure. As Chapter 2 indicates, there are two sets of analyses that we have completed in order to see whether there are conceptually consistent and empirically predictable patterns in the network data being used to measure informal systems of support. Both involve zero order correlations. The first set of correlations is between selected demographic characteristics of individual and family and key network variables. Demographic characteristics included are mother's education, mother's age, family income, number of children in the family, years married (for married mothers only), number of housing moves by the family in the past four years, and the amount of time that the parent has lived in the present neighborhood.

Following presentation and discussion of correlations between background and network variables, we introduce selected correlations of network variables with each other. Included are: 1) the correlations of network size (at several different levels) with exchange content, frequency of contact, number of "difficult" members, and satisfaction with the network; 2) exchange content with frequency, number of "difficult" members, and network satisfaction; and 3) number of "difficult" members with satisfaction. Correlations involving multi-strandedness and proximity would normally have been included in this section, but conceptual difficulties associated with these variables have forced us to delay the reporting of those data until later in 1981.

Correlations Between Demographic Characteristics and Network Variables

Five sets of network variables are examined here in relation to the background characteristics outlined on the previous page; network size, exchange content, frequency of contact, number of "difficult" contacts, and network satisfaction. Because the descriptive data presented earlier showed quite different patterns for single and married mothers, the correlations were run separately for each of these groups and are discussed separately below.

Network size - Two correlation matrices made up of nine network size variables and seven demographic variables are provided in Tables 7.6 and 7.7; the first for single mothers (7.6) and the second for their married counterparts (7.7). The tables include, in addition to zero order correlation coefficients, the appropriate means and standard deviations for each of the network size variables. Coefficients are included in the tables if they were significant at p=.10 or greater, or were .20 or larger in magnitude.

Examination of the matrix in Table 7.6 indicates that network size variables correlate most strongly with mother's education.

Table 7.6

Single, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of size by socioeconomic and life cycle characteristics.

Network Size	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Mother's Education	Mother's Age	Family Income	Number of Children	Number of Moves in Four Years	Time in Neighborhood
				Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics					
n				48	48	48	48	48	48
$\bar{x}$				11.75	24.98	8519	2.42	2.56	63.98
σ				2.01	5.22	4948	1.30	2.01	85.03
Total Network	48	17.54	10.47	.52**	.23			-.28#	
Functional Network	48	13.83	9.89	.55**	.22		-.30*	-.20	
Primary Network	48	5.50	4.41	.36*	.22		-.29*		
Total Number Kin	48	7.25	4.22	.29*				-.26#	
Kin in Functional Network	48	5.63	3.85	.33*			-.25#		
Kin in Primary Network	48	2.96	2.67	.32*					
Neighbors	48	4.17	3.78	.30*					
Workmates	25	2.48	2.35				-.21		
Others	48	6.48	5.67	.59**	.23				

$< .10$

* $< .05$

** $< .01$

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.7

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Size by Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics

Network Size	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Mother's Education	Mother's Age	Family Income	Number of Children	Years Married	Number of Moves in 4 Years	Time in Neighborhood
				Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics						
n				160	161	161	161	161	160	158
$\bar{x}$				12.55	31.08	18313	2.70	9.00	.94	74.10
σ				3.18	5.25	7880	1.19	4.93	1.54	77.39
Total Network	161	23.94	14.39	.32**		.24**		-.13#		
Functional Network	161	19.08	12.82	.36**		.27**	-.14#	-.15#		
Primary Network	161	6.20	4.08			.17*				
Total Number Kin	161	12.34	8.22					-.17*		
Kin in Functional Network	161	9.89	7.39	.20**	-.15*	.17*		-.19*		
Kin in Primary Network	161	4.52	3.39							
Neighbors	161	4.81	4.34	.19*					-.15*	
Workmates	73	2.58	3.58	.32**		.25*				
Others	161	6.51	6.49	.27**		.19*	-.18*			

< .10
* < .05
**< .10

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

7.53

There is no corresponding relationship with income, the other background variable related to socioeconomic status, but this comes as no surprise because income varies relatively little within the single mother group. Almost 80% of our single mothers are poor, mirroring the national picture. It is interesting, and reassuring, to see that the relationship with education is stronger for size of functional than of primary network. This is presumably because the mother's view of who makes a difference to her, her exchange patterns, and who she has access to are quite influenced by how much schooling she has had, but her feelings about who is *most* important to her transcend educational experience. This difference in correlation with maternal education between functional and primary networks is reflected also in the comparison of kin with non-kin. The size of the category "other," which is a large non-kin category for single mothers, correlates much more strongly with education than does the size of the kin sector, perhaps because involvement with these non-kin tends to be less obligatory and more a matter of personal choice than is involvement with relatives. The parallel with functional/primar is a result of the fact that non-kin predominate in the functional networks of our single mothers, while in their primary networks, kin predominate.

It is interesting to see that the size of the network decreases at both the functional and primary levels as the number of children in the family increases. This inverse relationship could actually be a further manifestation of the education effect if mothers with more education have fewer children.

Also worth noting is some evidence to suggest that as the number of housing-related moves increases, the overall size of the network decreases. This relationship does not extend into primary network.

The matrix in Table 7.7 contains the equivalent correlation coefficients for married mothers. Mother's education again stands out as the background variable most strongly correlated with network size, although the relationships are weaker than had been the case with single mothers. Unlike the situation with single mothers, however, family income is related to network size nearly as strongly as educational level for married mothers, because the range in incomes is far greater for these 161 mothers than for their single counterparts. Within the functional network the higher correlation with non-kin than kin observed earlier with single mothers shows even more strongly here. It is most evident with mother's income in the comparison between total kin and workmates or "others." The correlation with size at the primary network level, while significant for family income, is smaller than at the functional network level. This difference is again due to the predominance of kin in the primary network.

Number of children, which was negatively correlated with size at both the functional and primary levels for single mothers, shows that inverse relationship only for non-kin (workmates and others) in the case of married mothers. Again, this could be primarily an education or income effect. Years married, which normally increases with number of children, is negatively correlated with network size for married mothers, especially in the case of kin. This suggests that perhaps married mothers become less dependent upon relatives outside the household for assistance as time goes on.

The content of exchanges - Tables 7.8 and 7.9 contain the correlation of the same seven demographic variables with five composite variables of exchange content; child related (child-care and childrearing advice), practical, financial, emotional, and work-related exchanges. Each network variable represents the number of network members designated by the mother as utilized for exchanges of that particular sort. In addition to data generated for the overall membership involved with each exchange, that membership is further distinguished by kin and non-kin. The pool of eligibles from which membership in a given exchange category is drawn is all those listed in the total network.

Because exchange membership is a sub-set of several size variables (total, functional), one would expect many of the correlational patterns between background variables and network size variables to be repeated here. Where such is the case it will be acknowledged briefly, with more attention given to patterns which add to our understanding.

The correlations for single mothers are presented in Table 7.8. Strong positive relationships with mother's education are evident as before. Quite visible, because of the way the data are organized, is the pattern of higher correlations for non-relatives than for relatives, except in the case of financial exchange. More startling, though also reflected in the earlier correlations, is the way that the number of network members involved with four of the five content areas decreases as the number of children in the family becomes larger. This happens even though in several instances exchanges with non-kin increase as the mother grows older. Perhaps as the number of children

Table 7.8

Single, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Functional Exchanges by Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics.

Functional Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics Mother's Education	Mother's Age	Family Income	Number of Children	Number of Moves in Four Years	Time in Neighborhood
n				48	48	48	48	48	48
$\bar{x}$				11.75	24.98	9227	2.62	2.56	63.98
σ				2.01	5.22	6051	1.30	2.01	85.03
Child-related Exchanges	48	8.92	6.31	.57**			-.35*	-.24	
Kin	48	3.77	3.05	.32*			-.29*		
Non-Kin	48	5.15	4.15	.58**	.31*		-.29*	-.24	
Practical Exchanges	48	8.06	6.34	.48**			-.36*		
Kin	48	3.63	3.16	.33*			-.36*		
Non-Kin	48	4.44	4.50	.44**	.29*		-.26#		
Financial Help	48	3.50	3.60				-.25#		
Kin	48	2.08	2.21	.26#			-.20		
Non-Kin	48	1.42	1.86				-.23		
Emotional Support	48	5.83	6.76	.40**		-.25#	-.32*		
Kin	48	2.17	3.00	.28#		25#	-.27#		
Non-Kin	48	3.67	4.57	.41**	.20	-.21	-.29*		
Work-related Exchanges	27	3.56	4.12	.49**	.42*		-.20		-.20
Kin	25	1.08	1.41	.38#	.30				
Non-Kin	26	2.65	3.62	.42*	.35#		-.22		-.20

$< .10$

* $< .05$

** $< .01$

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.9

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlations of Functional Exchanges by Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics

Functional Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Mother's Education	Mother's Age	Family Income	Number of Children	Years Married	Number of Moves in Four Years	Time in Neighborhood
				Socioeconimic and Lefe Cycle Characteristics						
n				160	161	161	161	160	160	158
$\bar{x}$				12.55	31.08	18,197	2.70	9.06	.94	74.10
σ				3.18	5.25	7.691	1.19	4.89	1.56	77.39
Child-related Exchanges	161	9.57	7.02	.34**	-.15#	.26**	-.16*	.17*		
Kin	161	4.84	3.63	.17*	-.27**	.13#		-.27**	.17*	
Non-Kin	161	4.73	4.89	.35**		.20**	-.14#		-.15#	
Practical Exchanges	161	9.48	8.24	.31**	-.18*			-.19*		
Kin	161	5.28	4.65	.21**	-.25**			-.26**		
Non-Kin	161	4.20	5.01	.32**		.13#				
Financial Help	161	3.60	4.41		-.17*			-.16*		
Kin	161	2.76	2.82	.17*	-.19*			-.21**		
Non-Kin	161	.83	2.67							
Emotional Support	161	4.73	4.49	.31**		.26**				
Kin	161	2.37	2.22	.20*	-.23**			-.16*		
Non-Kin	161	2.35	3.22	.29**		.27**				
Work-related Exchanges	84	2.96	4.01	.36**		.31**		-.28*	.22#	
Kin	79	1.10	1.89		-.29**					
Non-Kin	78	2.05	3.00	.47**		.40**				

# < .10
* < .05
** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

increase, older children begin to provide some of the assistance to the single mother that would otherwise be sought from network members. Or perhaps network members simply make themselves less available to single mothers with large families because the magnitude of the need expressed is overwhelming to all concerned.

The correlations of exchange membership with the background characteristics of married mothers and their families, shown in Table 7.9, also parallel the patterns seen in relation to size. The relationships here are strongest with education, followed closely by family income. As was the case with single mothers, these correlations are higher with non-relatives than relatives, except in the case of financial exchange. While the pattern of reduced exchange with an increase in the number of children in the family is not as widespread for married mothers, it does appear in relation to kin as the age of the mother and the number of years that she has been married increase.

Frequency of contact - The correlations between frequency of contact with various network memberships and the background characteristics of single mothers are shown in Table 7.10. The relationships are, in general, weak and negative. Why should frequency of contact with network members drop as the mother's educational and income levels increase? The most reasonable explanation involves the relationship between network size and frequency of contact. It is possible, and data reported in the next section of this chapter do in fact indicate, that as the size of a mother's network increases, the amount of contact that she has with any given member of the network decreases. Thus if network size increases significantly with education,

Table 7.10

Single, Non-Black Mothers
Correlation of Frequency of Contact with Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics

				Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics					
Frequency of Contact	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Mother's Education	Mother's Age	Family Income	Number of Children	Number of Moves in Four Years	Time in Neighborhood
n				48	48	48	48	48	48
$\bar{x}$				11.75	27.98	9227	2.42	2.56	63.98
σ				2.01	5.22	6051	1.30	2.01	85.03
Functional Network									
All in Functional	48	5.33	1.08	-.23		-.24		.24	
Kin	48	4.60	1.94		-.27#				.35*
Non-Kin	48	5.50	1.14	-.22		-.25#		-.29*	
Neighbors	48	5.15	2.70						
Workmates	25	4.48	3.48			-.29	-.34#		
Others	48	4.77	1.82						
Primary Network									
All in Primary	48	5.86	1.25	-.28#	-.29*	-.33*			.25#
Kin	48	4.97	2.26						.25#
Non-Kin	48	5.28	2.56			-.44**	-.24#		
Neighbors	48	3.65	3.48						
Workmates	22	1.30	2.82				-.23	-.24	
Others	48	4.12	3.09			-.24#			

< .10
* < .05
** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

then the negative correlation between frequency and educational level makes sense. What is less clear is why similar correlations with income level are seen for single mothers even though for them there was no positive correlation between income level and size.

The significant correlations related to number of moves and time in neighborhood fit a predictable pattern. Frequency of contact with workmates increases with time in neighborhood, and for non-kin there is a decrease as the number of moves increases.

The patterns for married mothers are more differentiated (Table 7.11). Again we see higher education and income correlated with lower frequency of contact. However, the relationship only holds for kin contacts. At the primary level, as the mother's educational level increases, she reduces the frequency of her contact with kin and increases frequency of contact with non-relatives, but this pattern is less powerful than was the case with functional network members.

The increases in frequency of contact with non-kin which accompany increases in years married and number of children also parallel smaller network size related to those life cycle changes (see earlier). The pattern for married mothers seems to be that these changes are accompanied by greater contact with a somewhat smaller set of non-kin network members.

"Difficult" network members - These are individuals included in the network whom the parent selected out as "difficult to get along with." Zero-order correlations with background variables for both single and married mothers are presented in Table 7.12. Number of difficult contacts is measured both as a generic category

Table 7.11

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Frequency of Contact with Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics

Frequency of Contact		n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Mother's Education	Mother's Age	Family Income	Number of Children	Years Married	Number of Moves in 4 Years	Time in Neighborhood
	n				160	161	161	161	161	160	158
	$\bar{x}$				12.55	31.08	18197	2.70	9.00	.94	75.77
	σ				3.18	5.25	7691	1.19	4.93	1.54	79.64
Functional Network	All in Functional	161	4.78	.98	-.43**		-.18*	.20*	.17*	.15*	
	Kin	161	4.43	1.47	-.40**		-.19*		.16*		.18*
	Non-Kin	161	4.67	1.52		.27**		.21**	.23**		
	Neighbors	161	5.40	2.23							
	Workmates	73	3.31	3.21				.21#		.22#	
	Others	161	3.58	1.88				-.15*			
Primary Network	All in Primary	161	5.09	1.51	-.16*						.14#
	Kin	161	4.69	1.84	-.19*						
	Non-Kin	161	3.17	2.92	.22**						
	Neighbors	161	3.02	3.38							
	Workmates	69	.95	2.37	.28*						
	Others	161	2.23	2.62				-.17*			

Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics

< .10
* < .05
*[illegible]01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.12

Single and Married Non-Black Mothers; Correlations of Difficult Contacts with Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics of Respondent

	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics						
				Mother's Education	Mother's Age	Family Income	Number of Children	Years Married	Number of moves in 4 years	Time in Neighborhood
Difficult Contacts										
Singles										
n				48	48	48	48	NA	48	48
$\bar{x}$				11.75	27.98	9227	2.42	NA	2.56	63.98
σ				2.01	5.22	6051	1.30	NA	2.01	85.03
Total Difficult Contacts	48	1.35	1.69	.30*		.30*	-.25#	NA		
Difficult Kin	48	.65	.96		-.16			NA		
Difficult Non-Kin	48	.71	1.37	.31*		.28#	-.28#	NA		
Marrieds										
n				160	161	161	161	161	161	158
$\bar{x}$				12.55	31.08	18196	2.70	9.00	.94	75.77
σ				3.18	5.25	7691	1.19	4.93	1.54	79.64
Total Difficult Contacts	161	1.48	1.91						.17*	
Difficult Kin	161	.99	1.40		.15#				.26**	
Difficult Non-Kin	161	.50	1.01	.17*		.18*				

# <.10 [Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.]

* <.05

** <.01

and separately for relatives and non-relatives. Looking first at the correlations for single mothers, it is the relationships with educational level and family income which figure most prominantly. The now familiar pattern of correlation for non-kin but not for kin is again evident. A little surprising is the higher correlations for income than for educational level, as contrasted with the absence of any significant relationships for single mothers between income and the size or content variables. It may be that single mothers feel more free to identify the difficult side of some network members when they have the "luxury" of a decent income. It is also possible that this finding is peculiar to our very small sample of moderate income single mothers.

The pattern for married mothers is similar to that for single mothers, but with smaller correlation coefficients. Also interesting for married mothers is the way identification of contacts as difficult increases with the number of housing moves that the family has made during the past four years.

Satisfaction with the network - Table 7.13 contains the correlations between three levels of perceived satisfaction with support provided by network members and mothers' background characteristics, for both single and married mothers. Two patterns are evident for single mothers: overall network satisfaction increases with age and educational level, and higher numbers of housing changes over the past four years are associated with lower satisfaction, especially in the area of practical and personal needs. The reader can see from a look at the data for married mothers that for them there is no zero-order relationship between satisfaction and any of the background variables.

Table 7.13

Single and Married Non-Black Mothers; Correlations of Satisfaction (with Network Support) with Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics

Satisfaction with Network		n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Socioeconomic and Life Cycle Characteristics Mother's Education	Mother's Age	Family Income	Number of Children	Years Married	Number of moves in 4 years	Time in Neighborhood
	n				48	48	48	48	NA	48	48
	$\bar{x}$				11.75	27.98	9227	2.42	NA	2.56	63.98
Singles	σ				2.01	5.22	6051	1.30	NA	2.01	85.03
Parent-Role Support		45	3.31	1.22					NA		
Practical & Personal Needs		47	3.38	1.13					NA	-.34*	
Overall Satisfaction		46	3.72	1.32	.29*	.31*	-.26#		NA	-.41*	
	n				160	161	161	161	161	161	158
	$\bar{x}$				12.55	31.08	18196	2.70	9.00	.94	75.77
Marrieds	σ				3.18	5.25	7691	1.19	4.93	1.54	79.64
Parent-Role Support		151	3.56	.98	.14#						
Practical & Personal Needs		152	3.74	.91							
Overall Satisfaction		156	3.99	.91							

# < .10 [Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.]

* < .05

** < .01

Summary - This examination of the relationships between selected aspects of individual and family background and key network variables gives us reason for optimism regarding the validity of those network variables while at the same time increasing our understanding of what the social resources available to mothers in differing circumstances look like. Three general patterns can be identified which make us confident that we are measuring what we set out to measure. First, the network variables show a consistent pattern of significant zero-order correlations with the background variables related to socioeconomic status, mother's education and family income. Such relationships pervade the social and scientific literature, and so their absence in our data would have been puzzling. Moreover, the patterns of correlation between these background and network variables are differentiated in some sensible ways. They operate more strongly at the functional than at the primary level of the network, and with non-kin rather than with kin. We propose that this is the case because mothers interact with their relatives and the most important people in their networks, regardless of income or educational level, while those social structural forces come into play in the social arenas less governed by obligation and personal investment.

The second pattern which reassures us is the way income works differently for single and married mothers, bearing no relationship to network size and exchanges in the former case and a significant relation in the latter. Again this makes sense, in view of the restricted income range in our sample of single mothers. The third encouraging pattern involves the background variables related to mobility, number of moves in the past four years and time in present residence. For single mothers, as the number of moves increases there is a decrease in the size of the total network, frequency of contact with non-kin, and overall satisfaction with the network. The same pattern is not found for married mothers, but this difference is not surprising. Married couples change locations for reasons quite different from those of single mothers; the former are apt to be demonstrating upward mobility by a move to a house in the suburbs, while the latter are leaving an unsatisfactory relationship, moving away from their parents, or shifting to a less expensive apartment. The networks of married mothers are also composed more heavily of relatives, who are prepared to "move with you" in a way that the more numerous non-kin surrounding single mothers may not.

We don't refer to the life cycle characteristics in this summary of findings related to validity because too little is known about networks and life cycle changes to permit the use of them as a standard. The patterns which are found in those correlations do, however, begin to increase our understanding of how the networks of parents evolve with individual and family life cycle changes. The picture that seems to be emerging is one in which married mothers tend to become involved with fewer relatives and in more frequent contact with non-kin as they grow older, are married longer, and have more children. These changes are not seen with single mothers, probably because they are younger, and because their marital status has already involved them with non-kin at an earlier age.

The second contribution to our understanding stems from further exploration of several distinctions between family types and network components which we used to structure much of this correlational analysis. For instance, our growing conviction that single mothers are embedded in networks with characteristics different from those of married mothers was strengthened by these patterns of correlations. Much of this difference is manifested in the kin/non-kin distinction, which has a solid basis in the networks literature but has not been applied previously to the study of informal support systems. Finally, these data give credence to the distinction between the functional and primary levels of the network. Clearly the relationship between network membership and family background characteristics is different for each of those levels. These findings become the basis, then, for continuing to emphasize the importance of distinguishing between the networks of single and married mothers, and utilizing the kin/non-kin and functional/primary breakdowns in the analyses to come.

Correlations Among Network Variables

A number of questions about how network variables are related to one another were underscored by the correlations with demographic characteristics just reviewed. Similar patterns for both size and exchange variables at the functional level suggested that these two dimensions of the network are probably strongly related to one another. Differences in the way membership at the functional and primary levels correlate with socioeconomic status variables raise questions about how much the size of one varies with the size of the other. A positive relationship between size and mother's education, combined with the finding that frequency of contact dropped with the same increase in education level, raises the possibility that average frequency of interaction with network members may be reduced as the size of the network grows larger. These are all questions which can be addressed with analyses which provide correlations between network variables. In this section, we will examine six sets of correlational relationships. Size will be correlated with other size variables and with exchanges. Exchanges will be examined in relation to frequency of contact, number of difficult network members, and satisfaction with the network. Finally, difficult membership will be correlated with network satisfaction. The reader can see from this list that the emphasis is on exchange-related membership rather than network size. This choice is predicated on the fact that functional size and exchange membership are strongly related (see below, Tables 7.14 and 7.15). With the strength of that relationship in mind, we decided to highlight exchange membership because the relational aspects of the concept are better suited to an understanding of informal support systems than is size alone.

Relationships among size variables - These zero order correlations are contained in Tables 7.14 and 7.15 for both single and married mothers. The reader can see that at the total, functional, and primary levels the coefficients are in general large and significant. The relationship between size of functional and primary networks is stronger for single than married mothers. The weaker relationship for married mothers reflects the fact that their functional networks are larger than are those of

Table 7.14

Single, Non-Black Mothers

Correlations of Network Size By Network Size Variables

Network Size	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Total Network	Functional Network	Primary Network	Kin in FN	Kin in PN	Neighbors	Workmates	Contacts from Organizations	Others
n				48	48	48	48	48	48	25	18	48
$\bar{x}$				17.54	13.83	5.50	5.46	2.71	4.17	2.48	3.11	6.46
σ				10.47	9.90	4.41	3.72	2.41	3.78	2.35	3.55	5.68
Total Network	48	17.54	10.47									
Functional Network	48	13.83	9.90	.88**								
Primary Network	48	5.50	4.41	.61**	.67**							
Kin in FN	48	5.46	3.72	.57**	.69**	.44**						
Kin in PN	48	2.71	2.41	.47**	.54**	.75**	.68**					
Neighbors	48	4.17	3.78	.49**	.23							
Workmates	25	2.48	2.35	.30			-.32	-.26				
Contacts from Organizations	18	3.11	3.55	.87**	.77**	.54*	.47*	.31		.22		
Others	48	6.46	5.68	.76**	.84**	.66**	.39**	.42**	.20		.61**	

< .10
* < .05
** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.15

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlations of Network Size By Network Size Variables

Network Size	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Total Network	Functional Network	Primary Network	Kin in FN	Kin in PN	Neighbors	Workmates	Contacts from Organizations	Others
n				161	161	161	161	161	161	73	100	161
$\bar{x}$				23.94	19.08	6.20	9.79	4.52	4.81	2.58	3.67	6.51
σ				14.39	12.83	4.08	7.31	3.39	4.34	3.58	5.11	6.50
Total Network	161	23.94	14.39									
Functional Network	161	19.08	12.83	.91**								
Primary Network	161	6.20	4.08	.52**	.54**							
Kin in FN	161	9.79	7.31	.71**	.80**	.48**						
Kin in PN	161	4.52	3.39	.40**	.44**	.87**	.58**					
Neighbors	161	4.81	4.34	.59**	.56**	.43**	.50**	.36**				
Workmates	73	2.58	3.58	.61**	.57**	.32**	.29*	.21#	.25*			
Contacts from Organizations	100	3.67	5.11	.38**	.30**					.30*		
Others	161	6.51	6.50	.75**	.75**	.40**	.38**	.20*	.24**	.34**	.40**	

# < .10

* < .05

** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

the single mothers. The size difference is caused in part by higher incomes among married mothers (see earlier, Figure 7.17).

Among non-kin, the size of married mothers' networks bears a more consistent relationship with how many neighbors and workmates they include in those networks than is the case with their single counterparts. However, for singles there is a strong and significant relationship between overall network size and the number of network members with whom they share an organizational affiliation of some kind. Finally, the size of the "other friends" sector bears a strong relationship with that of the network as a whole for both single and married mothers, although the relationship is a little stronger for those who are single.

Size and exchange membership - Correlations between the size of various network sectors and membership in the several exchange categories are shown in Tables 7.16 and 7.17. The reader can see that the coefficients are large at the functional level, especially for non-kin. This is less true for size of the primary network, which appears to be governed by factors somewhat independent of how many people are available to provide child, practical and work-related, financial, and emotional support, especially in the case of married mothers. Crucial to understanding what affects the size of the primary network may be the nature of the relationship between mother and spouse/father. Also interesting is how much larger the correlation between functional size and emotional support is for single than married mothers (.88 vs. .54). Again the nature of the relationship with the child's father may well be relevant here. Another sharp difference between single and married mothers can be seen

Table 7.16

Single, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Network Size by Exchange Content

	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Network Exchange Content														
				Child-Related Exchanges	With Kin	With Non-Kin	Practical Exchanges	With Kin	With Non-Kin	Financial Help	With Kin	With Non-Kin	Emotional Help	With Kin	With Non-Kin	Work-Related Exchanges	With Kin	With Non-Kin
Network Size n				48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	27	25	26
$\bar{x}$				8.92	3.77	5.15	8.06	3.63	4.44	3.50	2.08	1.42	5.83	2.17	3.67	3.56	1.08	3.65
σ				6.31	3.05	4.51	6.34	3.16	4.50	3.60	2.21	1.84	6.76	3.00	4.57	4.12	1.41	3.62
Total Network	48	17.54	10.57	.75**	.43**	.76**	.66**	.50**	.57**	.40**	.51**		.72**	.60**	.67**	.53**	.25	.51**
Functional Network	48	13.83	9.90	.86**	.52**	.85**	.82**	.65**	.69**	.45**	.55**	.23	.88**	.72**	.82**	.68**	.34	.66**
Primary Network	48	5.50	4.41	.64**	.32*	.68**	.56**	.26#	.60**		.21		.47**	.26#	.53**	.32		.30#
Kin in FN	48	5.63	3.85	.66**	.80**	.39**	.58**	.80**	.26#	.51**	.68**		.59**	.77**	.36*		.37#	
Kin in PN	48	2.96	2.67	.52**	.47**	.41**	.36*	.37**	.24#		.28#		.30*	.29*	.26#		.25	
Neighbors	48	4.17	3.78	.26#		.34*			.27#									
Workmates	25	2.48	2.35		-.32	.20		-.28				-.24		-.22	.23	.40#		.47*
Contacts from Organizations	18	3.11	3.55	.54*		.55*	.62**	.51*	.49*	.34	.55*		.70**	.67**	.65**			
Others	48	6.48	5.68	.76**	.32*	.85**	.77**	.43**	.78**	.24#	.30*		.67**	.39**	.74**	.64**		.71**

# < .10
* < .05
** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.17

Married, Non-Black Mothers
Correlation of Network Size By Exchange Content

	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Network Exchange Content														
				Child-Related Exchanges	With Kin	With Non-Kin	Practical Exchanges	With Kin	With Non-Kin	Financial Help	With Kin	With Non-Kin	Emotional Support	With Kin	With Non-Kin	Work-Related Exchanges	With Kin	With Non-Kin
Network Size n				161	161	161	161	161	161	161	161	161	161	161	161	84	79	78
$\bar{x}$				9.57	4.84	4.73	9.48	5.27	4.20	3.60	2.76	.83	4.72	2.37	2.35	2.94	1.10	2.06
σ				7.02	3.63	4.89	8.24	4.65	5.01	4.41	2.82	2.67	4.49	2.22	3.22	4.01	1.89	3.00
Total Network	161	23.94	14.39	.71**	.63**	.63**	.63**	.48**	.58**	.30**	.30**	.17*	.47**	.32**	.43**	.61**	.38**	.61**
Functional Network	161	19.08	12.83	.78**	.61**	.67**	.73**	.59**	.66**	.38**	.39**	.21**	.54**	.39**	.49**	.68**	.44**	.66**
Primary Network	161	6.20	4.08	.46**	.39**	.37**	.39**	.31**	.35**	.21**	.26**		.38**	.36**	.29**	.35**	.30**	.36**
Kin in FN	161	9.89	7.39	.48**	.67**	.18*	.54**	.65**	.28**	.32**	.41**		.29**	.39**	.14#	.45**	.46**	.33**
Kin in PN	161	4.62	3.40	.31**	.44**		.26**	.35**			.24**		.19*	.36**		.25*	.35**	.20#
Neighbors	161	4.81	4.34	.39**	.32**	.32**	.36**	.28**	.33**				.21**	.17*	.18*			
Workmates	73	2.58	3.58	.45**	.22#	.49**	.39**	.28*	.41**		.23*		.37**		.46**	.60**		.72**
Contacts from Organizations	100	3.67	5.11	.27**		.37**	.27**		.40**	.35**		.46**	.22*		.27**			
Others	161	6.50	6.49	.66**	.32**	.71**	.57**	.27**	.69**	.30**	.21**	.27**	.46**	.20*	.50**	.58**	.32**	.62**

< .10
* < .05
** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

in the relationship between number of workmates and work-related exchanges with non-kin, where it is those who are married who appear to benefit from increase in the size of the work sector. Finally, the number of other friends in the network correlates with exchange membership much more strongly for single than for married mothers, a pattern with which we are by now familiar.

Exchange membership with frequency of contact - The relationships between frequency of contact and the number of network members available in each of the exchange categories are shown in Tables 7.18 and 7.19. Several points deserve highlighting. First, the negative pattern of correlations anticipated earlier in the chapter is observed here at the functional network level. As the overall number of network members available in an area of exchange assistance increases, the average rate of contact with those providing the support decreases. Second, this pattern appears to be operating primarily with relatives for married mothers, and non-relatives for those who are single. Third, there are non-kin for whom the pattern is reversed; that is, average frequency of contact increases with greater number of certain non-kin involved in some exchanges. This is the case with workmates for married mothers who have jobs, and also for employed single mothers, though to a lesser degree. For the single workers the pattern shows up to some extent with neighbors as well.

Exchange members with number of difficult members - We looked at these relationships for exchange membership at both the functional and primary levels of the network. The relationships

Table 7.18

Single, Non-Black Mothers
Correlation of Frequency of Contact By Number of Contacts in Exchanges, Functional Network

				Frequency of Contact					
	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	All in Functional Network	Kin	Non-Kin	Neighbors	Workmates	Others
Exchanges n				48	48	48	48	25	48
$\bar{x}$				5.33	4.60	5.50	5.15	2.48	4.77
σ				1.08	1.94	1.14	2.70	3.48	1.82
Child-related Exchanges	48	8.92	6.31	-.26#		-.27#			
Kin	48	3.77	3.05	-.26#	.21				
Non-Kin	48	5.15	4.51				.21		
Practical Exchanges	48	8.06	6.34	-.35*		-.28#			
Kin	48	3.63	3.16	-.40**	-.22				
Non-Kin	48	4.44	4.50	-.21					
Financial Help	48	3.50	3.60	-.22			.25#		
Kin	48	2.08	2.21	-.27#					
Non-Kin	48	1.42	1.84				.20#		
Emotional Support	48	5.83	6.76	-.28#		-.30#		.21	
Kin	48	2.17	3.00	-.31*		-.41**			
Non-Kin	48	3.67	4.57	-.20				.29	
Work-related Exchange	27	3.56	4.12					.23	
Kin	25	1.08	1.61						.25
Non-Kin	26	2.65	3.62					.32	

< .10

***** < .05

****** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.19

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Frequency of Contact By Number of Contacts in Exchanges, Functional Network

				Frequency of Contact					
Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	All in Functional Network	Kin	Non-Kin	Neighbors	Workmates	Others
n				161	161	161	161	73	161
$\bar{x}$				4.78	4.43	4.67	5.40	3.31	3.58
σ				.98	1.47	1.52	2.23	3.21	1.88
Child-related Exchanges	161	9.57	7.02	-.31**	-.18*			.19#	
Kin	161	4.84	3.63	-.19*		-.14#		.21#	
Non-Kin	161	4.73	4.89	-.31**	-.30**				.13#
Practical Exchanges	161	9.48	8.24	-.30**	-.19*			.23*	
Kin	161	5.28	4.65	-.27**				.20#	
Non-Kin	161	4.20	5.01	-.24**	-.26**			.20#	.14#
Financial Help	161	3.60	4.41					.26*	
Kin	161	2.76	2.82	-.13#				.30*	
Non-Kin	161	.83	2.67						
Emotional Support	161	4.73	4.49	-.26**	-.21**				
Kin	161	2.37	2.22	-.16*					
Non-Kin	161	2.35	3.22	-.22**	-.28**				
Work-related Exchange	84	2.94	4.01	-.22**	-.22**			.45**	
Kin	79	1.10	1.89					.32**	
Non-Kin	78	2.05	3.00	-.25**	-.29**			.42**	

#<.10
*<.05
**<.01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

were stronger for single mothers at the primary level, and at the functional level for those who were married, so we have provided both sets of data in Tables 7.20, 7.21, 7.22 and 7.23. In general, as the availability of resources increases, so does the number of difficult relationships, indicating that there is some price to pay for reliance on the network in these content areas. In most instances the correlation coefficients are larger for non-kin than for kin. This pattern is most striking for married mothers in child-related exchanges with non-relatives and with single women in work-related non-kin exchanges.

Exchange membership with network satisfaction - Here again it is necessary to present data involving exchange membership at both the functional and primary levels to capture the strongest relationships with satisfaction for both single and married mothers. The reader can see in Tables 7.24-7.27 that for single mothers, satisfaction is most strongly associated with child-related exchanges involving non-relatives at the functional level of the network, and that the strongest correlations tend to be with the mother's overall assessment of her network. In the case of the married mothers, however, the stronger relations are at the primary level, and involve only assessment of support in the parenting role. Again the correlations are higher with non-kin than kin, except in the area of finances (as expected).

Number of difficult members with network satisfaction - These relationships are shown in Table 7.28. Only in the case of single mothers are there noteworthy relationships. Satisfaction with overall support, and more specifically with support in the parent role and with practical and personal needs goes down

Table 7.20

Single, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of **Functional** Network Exchanges By Number of Difficult Contacts

Functional Network Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Number of Difficult Contacts: All Difficult	Difficult Kin	Difficult Non-Kin
n				48	48	48
$\bar{x}$				1.35	.65	.71
σ				1.69	.96	1.37
Child-related Exchanges	48	8.92	6.31	.27#		.39**
Kin	48	3.77	3.05			
Non-Kin	48	5.15	4.51	.29*		.46**
Practical Exchanges	48	8.06	6.34	.22		.30*
Kin	48	3.63	3.16			
Non-Kin	48	4.44	4.50	.24#		.35*
Financial Help	48	3.50	3.60			
Kin	48	2.08	2.21			
Non-Kin	48	1.42	1.84			
Emotional Support	48	5.83	6.76	.20		.28#
Kin	48	2.17	3.00			
Non-Kin	48	3.67	4.57	.29*		.39**
Work-related Exchange	27	3.56	4.12	.42*		.46*
Kin	25	1.08	1.41			
Non-Kin	26	2.65	3.62	.47*		.52**

$^{\#} < .10$

$^{*} < .05$

$^{**} < .01$

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.21

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Functional Network Exchanges By Number of Difficult Contacts

Functional Network Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Number of Difficult Contacts All Difficult	Difficult Kin	Difficult Non-Kin
n				161	161	161
$\bar{x}$				1.48	.99	.50
σ				1.91	1.40	1.01
Child-related Exchanges	161	9.57	7.02	.45**	.28**	.46**
Kin	161	4.84	3.63	.29**	.25**	.20**
Non-Kin	161	4.73	4.89	.44**	.22**	.51**
Practical Exchanges	161	9.48	8.24	.31**	.28**	.20**
Kin	161	5.28	4.65	.22**	.26**	
Non-Kin	161	4.20	5.01	.31**	.21**	.28**
Financial Help	161	3.60	4.41			
Kin	161	2.76	2.82			
Non-Kin	161	.83	2.67			
Emotional Support	161	4.73	4.49	.27**		.37**
Kin	161	2.37	2.22	.19*	.14#	.15#
Non-Kin	161	2.35	3.22	.25**		.42**
Work-related Exchange	84	2.94	4.01	.26*		.28*
Kin	79	1.10	1.89		.24*	
Non-Kin	78	2.05	3.00	.27*		.35**

< .10

* < .05

** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.22

Single, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Primary Network Exchanges By Number of Difficult Contacts

Primary Network Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Number of Difficult Contacts: All Difficult	Difficult Kin	Difficult Non-Kin
n				48	48	48
$\bar{x}$				1.35	.65	.71
σ				1.69	.96	1.37
Child-related Exchanges	48	3.67	3.21	.29*		.41**
Kin	48	2.06	1.80			
Non-Kin	48	1.60	2.21	.33*		.45**
Practical Exchanges	48	3.63	3.19	.20		.33*
Kin	48	1.94	1.78			
Non-Kin	48	1.69	2.22	.21		.33*
Financial Help	48	1.96	1.53			
Kin	48	1.31	1.22			.26#
Non-Kin	48	.65	.81			
Emotional Support	48	2.94	3.32	.32*		.44**
Kin	48	1.25	1.55			
Non-Kin	48	1.69	2.48	.35*		.48**
Work-related Exchange	26	2.00	2.04	.42*		.46*
Kin	25	.84	1.31			
Non-Kin	25	1.24	1.85	.45*		.46*

< .10

* < .05

** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported

Table 7.23

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Primary Network Exchanges By Number of Difficult Contacts

				Number of Difficult Contacts		
Primary Network Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	All Difficult	Difficult Kin	Difficult Non-Kin
n				161	161	161
$\bar{x}$				1.48	.99	.50
σ				1.91	1.40	1.01
Child-related Exchanges	161	3.91	3.01	.32**	.19*	.32**
Kin	161	2.80	2.43	.23**	.18*	.20*
Non-Kin	161	1.11	1.57	.25**		.35**
Practical Exchanges	161	4.07	3.12	.24**	.18*	.20*
Kin	161	2.93	2.43	.18*	.16*	
Non-Kin	161	1.14	1.60	.20**		.24**
Financial Help	161	2.17	2.07			
Kin	161	1.87	1.80			
Non-Kin	161	.30	.73			
Emotional Support	161	2.71	2.38	.23**	.14#	.24**
Kin	161	1.71	1.71		.15#	
Non-Kin	161	1.00	1.37	.21**		.32**
Work-related Exchange	82	1.29	1.82			
Kin	78	.85	1.50		.23*	
Non-Kin	75	.65	1.11			

$^{\#} < .10$

$^{*} < .05$

$^{**} < .01$

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.24

Single, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Functional Network Exchanges By Network Satisfaction

Functional Network Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Satisfaction with Network Parent Role Support	Satisfaction with Network Practical-Personal Needs	Satisfaction with Network Satisfaction Overall
n				45	47	46
$\bar{x}$				3.31	3.38	3.72
σ				1.22	1.13	1.33
Child-related Exchanges	48	8.92	6.31	.26#	.28#	.33#
Kin	48	3.77	3.05			
Non-Kin	48	5.15	4.51	.28#	.26#	.38**
Practical Exchanges	48	8.06	6.34	.36*	.35*	.31*
Kin	48	3.63	3.16	.22	.28#	
Non-Kin	48	4.44	4.50	.35*	.30*	.30*
Financial Help	48	3.50	3.60	.25#	.30*	
Kin	48	2.08	2.21	.27#	.28#	
Non-Kin	48	1.42	1.84		.25#	
Emotional Support	48	5.83	6.76	.27#	.30*	.35*
Kin	48	2.17	3.00	.31*	.28#	.28#
Non-Kin	48	3.67	4.57	.20	.26#	.33*
Work-related Exchange	27	3.56	4.12			
Kin	25	1.08	1.41			
Non-Kin	26	2.65	3.62			.21

< .10

* < .05

** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.25

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Functional Network Exchanges By Network Satisfaction

Functional Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Satisfication with Network		
				Parent Role Support	Practical-Personal Needs	Satisfaction Overall
n				151	152	156
$\bar{x}$				3.56	3.74	3.99
σ				.98	.91	.91
Child-related Exchanges	161	9.57	7.02	.28**		
Kin	161	4.84	3.63			
Non-Kin	161	4.73	4.89	.27**		
Practical Exchanges	161	9.48	8.24	.23**		
Kin	161	5.28	4.65	.28**		
Non-Kin	161	4.20	5.01			
Financial Help	161	3.60	4.41			
Kin	161	2.76	2.82			
Non-Kin	161	.83	2.67			
Emotional Support	161	4.73	4.49	.15#		
Kin	161	2.37	2.22		.16#	
Non-Kin	161	2.35	3.22	.16#		
Work-related Exchange	84	2.94	4.01			
Kin	79	1.10	1.89			
Non-Kin	78	2.05	3.00			

< .10

* < .05

** < .01

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.26

Single, Non-Black Mothers
Correlation of Primary Network Exchanges By Network Satisfaction

Primary Network Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Satisfaction with Network Parent Role Support	Practical-Personal Needs	Satisfaction Overall
n				45	47	46
$\bar{x}$				3.31	3.38	3.72
σ				1.22	1.13	1.33
Child-related Exchanges	48	3.67	3.21	.20	.21	.26#
Kin	48	2.06	1.80			
Non-Kin	48	1.60	2.21	.21		.26#
Practical Exchanges	48	3.63	3.19	.33*	.30*	.29*
Kin	48	1.94	1.78	.25	.21	
Non-Kin	48	1.69	2.22	.28#	.26#	.28#
Financial Help	48	1.96	1.53	.34*		
Kin	48	1.31	1.22	.30*		
Non-Kin	48	.65	.81	.20		
Emotional Support	48	2.94	3.32	.24	.22	.31*
Kin	48	1.25	1.55			
Non-Kin	48	1.69	2.48	.23	.22	.29*
Work-related Exchange	26	2.00	2.04	.31		
Kin	25	.84	1.31			
Non-Kin	25	1.24	1.85	.21		.22

<.10

* <.05

** <.01

Corelations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.27

Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Primary Network Exchanges By Network Satisfaction

---

Primary Network Exchanges	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Satisfaction with Network: Parent Role Support	Satisfaction with Network: Practical-Personal Needs	Satisfaction with Network: Satisfaction Overall
n				151	152	156
$\bar{x}$				3.56	3.74	3.99
σ				.98	.91	.91
Child-related Exchanges	161	3.91	3.01	.29**	.18*	
Kin	161	2.80	2.43	.18*	.15#	
Non-Kin	161	1.11	1.57	.29**		
Practical Exchanges	161	4.07	3.12	.31**	.23**	
Kin	161	2.93	2.43	.21*	.19*	
Non-Kin	161	1.14	1.60	.29**	.16#	.17*
Financial Help	161	2.17	2.07	.24**	.17*	
Kin	161	1.87	1.80	.22**	.16#	
Non-Kin	161	.30	.73	.15#		.16#
Emotional Support	161	2.71	2.38	.22**	.18*	
Kin	161	1.71	1.71		.17*	
Non-Kin	161	1.00	1.37	.29**		.19*
Work-related Exchange	82	1.29	1.82			
Kin	78	.85	1.50			
Non-Kin	75	.65	1.11			

$^{\#} < .10$

$^{*} < .05$

$^{**} < .01$

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

Table 7.28

Single and Married, Non-Black Mothers

Correlation of Difficult Contacts By Network Satisfaction

Satisfaction	n	$\bar{x}$	σ	Difficult Contacts All Difficult	Difficult Contacts Difficult Kin	Difficult Contacts Difficult Non-Kin
n				48	48	48
$\bar{x}$				1.35	.65	.71
σ				1.69	.96	1.37
Singles						
Parent Role Support	45	3.31	1.22	-.32*	-.52**	
Practical-Personal Needs	47	3.38	1.13	-.30*	-.48**	
Satisfaction Overall	46	3.72	1.33	-.23	-.47**	
n				161	161	161
$\bar{x}$				1.48	.99	.50
σ				1.91	1.40	1.01
Marrieds						
Parent Role Support	151	3.56	.98			
Practical-Personal Needs	152	3.74	.91			
Satisfaction Overall	156	3.99	.91			

$^{\#} < .10$

$^{*} < .05$

$^{**} < .01$

Correlations less than .20, or not approaching statistical significance, are not reported.

as the number of individuals in the network judged to be difficult increases. One interesting point is that this relationship holds for relatives but not for non-relatives, whereas it was the number of difficult non-kin that increased with exchange membership. It may be that single-mother status carries with it conflict in the kin network which spills over strongly into her overall assessment of her network as a support base.

Summary. The patterns reflected in these correlations among and between network variables again support both the validity of our constructs and the enhancement of our understanding of how parents in differing circumstances both influence and are influenced by their network membership. The validating evidence can be summarized briefly. Although the high correlations among the size variables was anticipated because they are subsets of one another, it is reassuring to see that the magnitude of these correlations varies in sensible ways. And the fact that the relationships are stronger for single than married mothers does not come as a surprise. Most of the married mothers are in families with higher incomes than those of single mothers, and overall network size increases with income. Thus the pool that married mothers draw from tends to vary in size more for marrieds, and this reduces the probability that the number they identify as most important (primary network) will bear much relationship with how many were included in the more encompassing network.

The size of the functional network also bears significantly upon how much in the way of exchange resources mothers report as available to them, especially if the network members are not relatives and if the mothers are single. This relationship is strongest for emotional support, which suggests that network members may compensate for the spouse in those cases where he is absent.

The other finding which provides further evidence that our network variables are operating in meaningful ways consists of the negative frequency of interaction with relatives. While this relationship between size and frequency of contact has not been reported in the literature, it is logical to assume, other things being equal, that as the size of the "working" network increases, there would be less time available per capita from the mother for regular contact.

Many of the findings in these zero-order correlations carry us beyond construct validity; they combine to produce patterns which help us understand how mothers in differing circumstances organize what resources are available to assist themselves in raising their children and meeting their own personal needs. The most prominent pattern in these data describes the different world of single parents. Probably because they are not living with a spouse, the size of their networks is most strongly correlated with non-relatives. These include workmates (for those with jobs) and neighbors, as well as people met through organizations. As the number of neighbors and workmates they include in their networks increases, frequency of contact with those people also increases. Overall satisfaction with their networks is quite directly related to the nature of the exchanges single mothers have with these non-kin, and that satisfaction is quite easily disrupted by presence in the networks of members seen as difficult in one way or another. What is emerging, then, is the picture of single mothers who are struggling to raise one or more children and keep themselves going with very little money and not much help from the child's father. Under these circumstances network members, and especially non-relatives, become useful and important resources. The strong correlations among satisfaction, resource exchanges, and "difficult" network members underscore that importance.

Earlier in the chapter we were careful to reinforce Wellman's (1981) point that network ties are not necessarily supportive. The negative correlation between number of "difficult" contacts and overall satisfaction with the network by single mothers is the first evidence that we can present in support of Wellman's admonition. Because the finding is specific to our single mothers, we do not expect it to be affected by the introduction of income as a demographic control, but other controls (like mothers' educational level) may alter the relationship somewhat.

The statistical significance of correlations between network variables is teaching us a good deal about the use of social resources by single mothers. For married mothers, however, these patterns of association are much less pronounced. It is logical to speculate that the presence of the spouse in the household serves a mediating influence in the relationships between the mother who is married and the members of her network. We need to better understand the nature of that mediation.

Preliminary Predictive Models: Size and Content as Antecedents of Network Satisfaction

Earlier in the chapter, after describing the constructs being used to represent the conceptual themes underlying informal support systems, we made the distinction between the structural and relational aspects of social networks. Some of the zero-order correlation matrices just discussed linked structural to relational variables, and in so doing provided a preliminary examination of the association between network structure and the availability of social resources. We learned, for instance, that as the functional network becomes larger, there is an increase in exchanges with non-relatives, and a reduction in the average frequency of interaction with relatives.

We have also been examining possible links between network variables and the demographic characteristics of the mothers anchoring those networks. There again we found significant relationships: both network size and the number of network members available in the various exchange categories were positively correlated with family income and mother's education. What begins to emerge, then, is a primitive model of the relationships among social structure, network structure, and the relationships parents have with their network members. This model, shown in Figure 7.14 is still in its earliest stage of development. It is, nonetheless, useful for purposes of discussion and as a heuristic device.

The box farthest to the left in the figure represents the socioeconomic forces affecting the mother. To the right of "social position" are the two boxes containing the structural

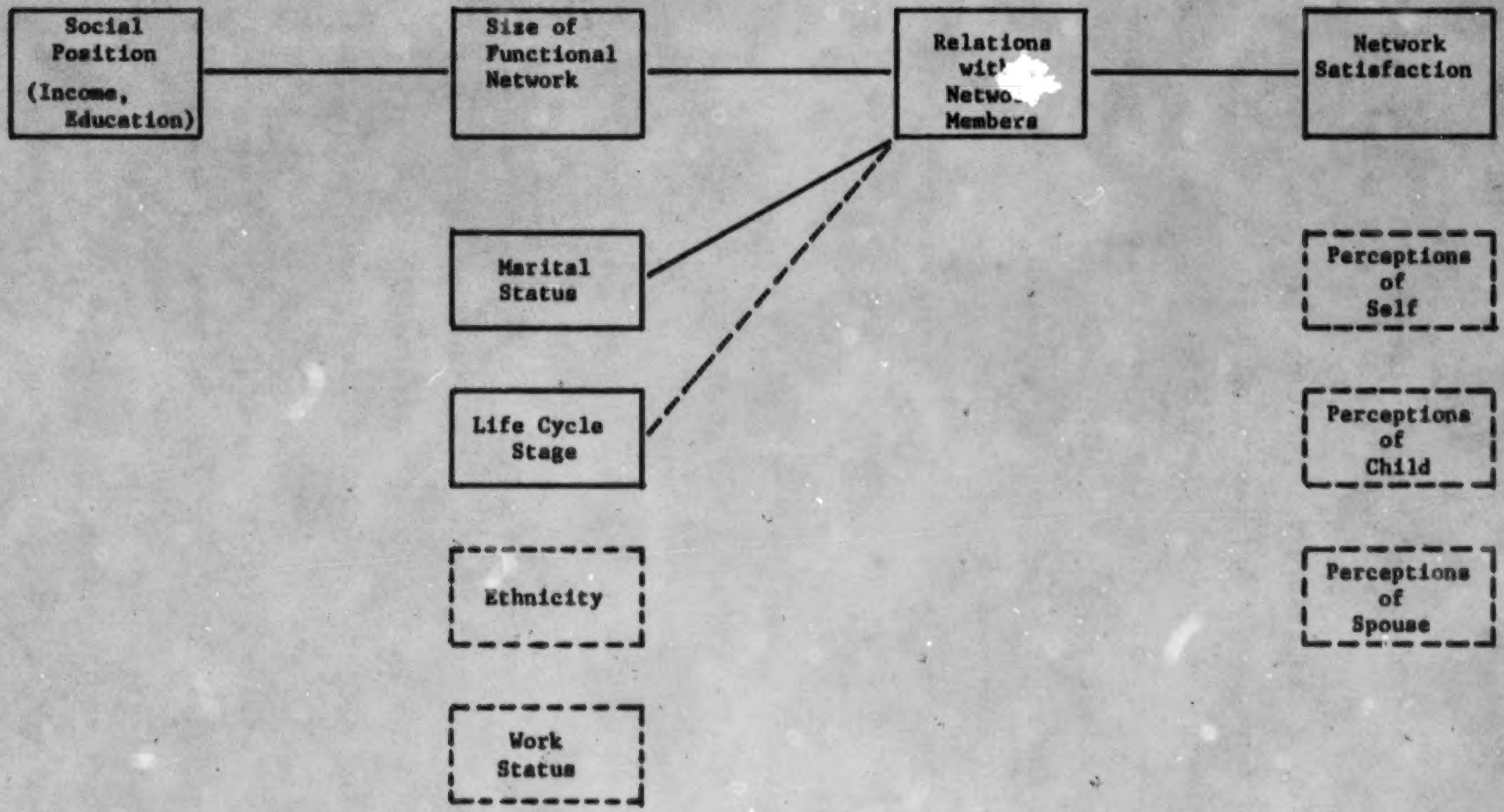
Social Position (Income, Education)
Size of Functional Network
Relations wit[illegible] Netwo[illegible] Members
Network Satisfaction
Marital Status
Life Cycle Stage
Ethnicity
Work Status
Perceptions of Self
Perceptions of Child
Perceptions of Spouse

Figure 7.14. Hypothesized construct relationships.

and relational characteristics of the network. Below "size" are four other characteristics of the mother which may affect aspects of her network. The solid lines indicate relationships for which there is some clear evidence in the data already presented. Dotted lines indicate other variables and possible relationships of particular interest.

On the right-hand side of Figure 7.14 are some perceptions by the mother which we have reason to believe will be affected by the demographic and network variables already discussed. Perceived satisfaction with the network involves data gathered with the social networks interview, while perceptions of self, child, and spouse were provided through the interview focused on stresses and supports. A discussion of the relationships between social network resources and perceptions of self, child, and spouse will be reserved for Chapter 8. Here we limit ourselves to a preliminary examination of relationships between network characteristics and perceived satisfaction with available network resources, as conditioned by key background characteristics (social position, marital status, work status). To accomplish this predictive undertaking we went through a two-stage process, first engaging in basic model-building with the use of step-wise regression techniques and then including the variables selected in that fashion in an analysis of covariance.

Stage One: Variable Selection and Step-Wise Regression

Choice of independent and dependent variables was influenced by four separate conceptual considerations prior to the acquisition of information provided by the use of step-wise regression procedures. The first of these considerations involves the general hypotheses underlying the study as a whole. We have hypothesized that there are forces outside the family which significantly affect the capacity of parents to engage in activities with their children which enhance the development of those children. Therefore, variables representing forces external to the immediate family need to be examined in relation to ones which affect the capacities of parents.

In our model of adult development and behavior, the manifestation of parents' capacities is heavily influenced by their perceptions of themselves as parents and of others in the immediate family (the spouse, the child). These perceptions, which we view as mediating between the personal social network of the parent and the parent's activities with the child, are an essential link in the conceptual chain, and as such must become a consideration in the selection of dependent variables to be examined in relation to network structure and content.

The third consideration, already articulated in relation to Figure 7.14 is our interest in relationships between network variables. Content variables like emotional support and support in the child-rearing role become the dependent variables of particular interest.

The final consideration is both conceptual and methodological. We recognize the need to avoid selecting dependent variables which are simply subsets of intervening or independent variables, and therefore related by definition rather than because of a meaningful causal link. For instance, the number of child-related exchanges with network members at the functional level is related to the size of the functional network, because the criterion for membership in the functional network is participation in one or more exchanges (although not necessarily child-related). In contrast, relationships between functional network size and child-related exchanges at the primary network level cannot be assumed, because the criterion for membership in the primary network is quite different from that used at the functional level.

With all these considerations in mind, and mindful also of the fact that we were severely limited by the time constraints associated with completion of this report, the decision was made to emphasize for these purposes parental perceptions as dependent variables, to be tested against the social network as an informal system of support. Therefore, although step-wise analyses were conducted with both the content of exchanges and network satisfaction as dependent variables, we have included only network satisfaction as an outcome variable in the analyses of covariance with which we conclude this chapter. Parental perceptions of self, child, and spouse are dependent variables of still greater interest to us, but their consideration has been reserved for Chapter 8. Two of the three measures of perceived network satisfaction described previously will be examined here:

1) Perceived satisfaction with the overall amount of help and support a mother receives from her network;

   and

2) perceived satisfaction with the amount of practical and personal help she receives from that subset of her network who provide this kind of assistance.

Selection of independent variables to be used as predictors of perceived network satisfaction, while influenced by the conceptual issues discussed above, also had to be consistent with three analytic goals.

First, and perhaps most importantly, we wished to examine perceived network satisfaction as a function of multiple, rather than single, predictor models. This goal emerged from a desire to reflect the multidimensional nature of informal support systems rather than to rely on single summary measures to represent the social resources or supportiveness of a parent's network. This strategy has the potential, for example, for revealing differential effects of kin versus non-kin on perceived network satisfaction, once controls for effects of overall size of the network have been included in the model.

Our second analytic goal was to make sure that various combinations of network size and content variables were tested both with and without demographic variables (socioeconomic status, life-cycle stage, and mobility) included as controls.

Finally, our third goal was to select combinations of network variables which capitalized on what we had already learned about kin/non-kin role distinctions and the different levels of the network (total, functional, and primary).

Step-wise regression was well suited to this stage of analysis, given our model building goals and the presence of so many possible predictors of perceived network satisfaction. Several standard step-wise regression techniques exist. For our purposes, we chose the combinational procedure within SAS (Statistical Analysis System), which selects for inclusion into the model those variables that maximize the improvement in R^2. This technique, developed by James H. Goodnight, is considered superior to regular step-wise techniques because it does not settle on a single model, but looks for the "best" one-variable model, "best" two-variable model, and so forth depending on the user's specifications. (For more details on this technique see the SAS User's Guide, 1979 Edition, pg. 391-396.)

From earlier correlational analyses, we learned that perceived network satisfaction is differentially related to a large number of structural and relational measures of networks, as well as to demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. This pattern of relationships was further differentiated by mother's marital status. Drawing on this prior knowledge, we constructed four different variable sets to be used as predictors of the two measures of perceived network satisfacation described above.

In our case, each set of variables corresponded to a structural or relational dimension of networks. These sets of predictors included: (1) a set of size variables; (2) a set of exchanges; and (3) a set of additional network characteristics such as role multistrandedness and frequency of interaction. In the fourth set, size and exchange-content variables were allowed to compete with each other as predictors of network satisfaction. Within all four sets, however, separate measures of kin and non-kin as well as measures of different levels of the network were included as possible carriers. For each of the four different sets of predictors, we obtained the "best" two, three, four, and five-variable models, and each n-best combination of predictors was calculated with and without the inclusion of socioeconomic, life-cycle, and mobility factors as covariates. Each combination of n-best carriers was also calculated separately for single and married mothers and within marital status separately for ethnic and non-ethnic mothers.

The actual test statistics which resulted from these analyses are not of interest to us and, therefore, are not reported here. What has been gleaned from these analyses, for building testable models, is summarized below.

In general, these analyses showed that network variables of size and content are better predictors of perceived satisfaction for single mothers than for marrieds. The multiple correlation (R^2) associated with the best combination of three network *size* variables, without demographics in the model, ranged from a high of .33 for ethnic singles (N=100) to a low of .09 for ethnic marrieds (N=69). The ordering among sample subgroups was somewhat different for the best combination of three network *exchange* variables. Here the R^2 ranges from .46 for ethnic singles to .08 for *non-ethnic* marrieds.

On the dependent side of the equation, we learned that network exchanges are better predictors of perceived personal and practical support for both singles and marrieds than are network size variables, which serve as significant predictors only of the outcome measures for single mothers. The picture was more complex for perceived overall satisfaction. The size variables did better for non-ethnic singles and marrieds, while exchange variables were better predictors for ethnic mothers -- both single and married. Based on these step-wise regression results we made a decision to carry both dependent measures of network satisfaction through to the next stage of analysis. On the independent side of the equation, we chose to focus exclusively on the two sets of network size and exchange variables. Among the network size variables, the best overall predictors of perceived satisfaction were those measures at both the total and primary levels of the network. The best overall exchange predictors of perceived network satisfaction also appeared to be variables measured at the primary rather than the functional level of the network.

Drawing on these empirical results and on our conceptual interest in maintaining the distinctions between kin/non-kin and the structural and relational features of networks, we decided to build our preliminary models around primary network measures of size and exchange. A further decision was to build models combining network size and exchanges separately for kin and non-kin membership in the networks, in order that these structural and relational features of the networks could be included in the same models.

The specific variables selected from these step-wise regression analyses for further testing within the analysis of covariance framework include:

the number of kin in the primary network (PN Kin) and the number of non-kin (PN Non-Kin);

the number of primary kin who provide child-related assistance (PN Kin Child) and the number of primary non-kin who provide the assistance (PN Non-Kin Child); and

the number of primary kin who provide emotional support (PN Kin Emot) and the number of primary non-kin who provide this support.

The total size of the network (TN) and the size of the primary network (PN) were also selected for testing within the covariance framework.

The only decision remaining to be made involved determining which demographic factors to include as controls within the next stage of analysis. On this issue the results from the step-wise regression procedures were unambiguous. Socioeconomic factors such as family income and mother's education clearly had the greatest single impact on mothers' perceptions of network satisfaction. Other factors which also showed indications of influencing network perceptions were mothers' age and the number of children in the family. In both cases, however, the effects of demographic characteristics were non-homogenous across marital status and ethnicity combinations. Based on these results and on the constraints of time, the decision was made to include only socioeconomic factors at the model-testing stage. This final stage in the analytical process, which we turn to now, requires a great deal of experimentation before the best models can be included in the analysis of covariance with regression techniques. Our preliminary efforts, derived from the analytical sequence described earlier, will be refined during the next year for use in the evaluation of the Family Matters program.

Stage Two: Analysis of Covariance Models and Tests of The Homogeneity of Regression Hypotheses.

The second stage of exploratory model building was launched in order to test a central theme of ecological research stated earlier in Chapter 3, that the main effects (that is the important effects) are likely to be interactions. Translating this maxim into a social network framework corresponds to saying that generalizations about the effects of network structure and content on perceptions of satisfaction cannot be made without specifying the ecological context (or groups) for which these effects hold.

Analysis of covariance models provide an ideal structure in which to test this hypothesis. Re-expressed within this analytic framework, the maxim of ecological research corresponds, in the case of interactions between categorical and continuous variables, to the test of the homogeneity of regressions. Tests of the homogeneity of regressions hypothesis ask: to what extent, if at all, are the regression coefficients associated with a particular covariate different for levels of a factor or interaction of factors? In sum, tests of the homogeneity of regression hypotheses provide the statistical apparatus necessary for testing components of the basic tenet of ecological research.

In order to explore the possibility that structural and relational characteristics of networks have differential consequenses for perceived satisfaction depending on the sample sub-group, we fit two series of covariance models. In the first series of models, the hypothesis of interest was primarily methodological, whereas in the second series our focus was on examining the relative contributions of primary network size and content. More specifically, with the first series of models we asked: do network variables, taken one at a time, differ significantly in their effects depending on mother's ethnicity, work status, and/or the interaction of these two factors?

This methodological, or model-specification hypothesis is not inherent to the first series of models. We could have been, for example, interested in asking which network size and network exchange variables were the best single predictors of perceived network satisfaction. This was not the hypothesis of interest because, as stated earlier in this chapter, one of our analytic goals was to test the differential contribution of network size and network content adjusted for each other. In order, however, to build the multiple-predictor models necessary to test this hypothesis, we needed prior information. In particular, we needed to determine for each network variable those sub-classes, if any, for which it was necessary to estimate separate regression coefficients. In other words, we needed to know where we had non-homogeneity and for which network covariates. This information, which was gleaned from this first series of models, allowed us to fit more parsimonious specifications with the second and more complex series of models.

For both series, we constructed models which imposed two classifactory factors on the observed data: mother's subjective ethnic identification and mother's work status. Justification for including these factors can be found in several bodies of literature. From the network perspective, Alba (1978) and Snyder (1976) provide evidence that the networks of ethnics differ considerably from those of non-ethnics, while Wilensky (1961) and Jones (1980, see note 8) have argued convincingly for the power of work status in influencing network characteristics. The cell frequencies, along with the marginal percentages which result from imposing this classificatory structure on the data, are shown in Table 7.29.

No evidence exists in the network literature, however, that would argue for the inclusion of "sex of child" as a factor in the model. This is especially understandable when the networks of interest are anchored on mothers' social relations in general and not only on those ties a mother maintains through her preschool child.[1]

Drawing on the results of fitting this first series of models, we constructed two general multiple-predictor models: one for kin network variables and one for non-kin variables.

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[1] Despite the absence of such evidence, significant mean differences by sex of child and by sex of child and ethnicity were observed in our data for key network variables. These unanticipated results emerged after the models reported in this section had been estimated and analyzed and, therefore, too late for inclusion in the specifications discussed here.

Table 7.29

Subclass N's represented by the 2 X 3 factoral design of our analysis of covariance models, tabled separately for Singles and Marrieds, Non-Black mothers only.

		Not Working	Part Time	Full Time	Totals
Singles N Percent Row Pct. Collumn Pct.	Non-Ethnic	16 33.33 55.17 61.54	5 10.42 17.24 55.56	8 16.67 27.59 61.54	29 60.42%
	Ethnic	10 20.83 52.63 38.46	4 8.33 21.05 44.44	5 10.42 26.32 38.46	19 39.58%
	Totals	26 54.17%	9 18.75%	13 27.08%	48 100.00%

		Not Working	Part Time	Full Time	Totals
Marrieds N Percent Row Pct. Collumn Pct.	Non-Ethnic	50 31.06 54.35 54.35	18 11.18 19.57 52.94	24 14.91 26.09 68.57	92 57.14%
	Ethnic	42 26.09 60.87 45.65	16 9.94 23.19 47.06	11 6.83 15.94 31.43	69 42.86%
	Totals	92 57.14%	34 21.12%	35 21.74%	161 100.00%

These general models were fit with and without number of difficult contacts, family income, and mother's education in the equation for two dependent variables and separately by legal marital status. From this model-fitting sequential process, six models were selected for discussion in this chapter. The exact variables treated simultaneously in these six models, as well as the classificatory structure specified for each model, are listed in Table 7.30. Specifying the classificatory structure involves determining for which subclasses of the sample separate regressions should be computed. The rows of Table 7.30 indicate the explanatory variables included in each model, while the columns indicate the dependent variable which was regressed on each set of predictors. The results from fitting these models are presented in Tables 7.31 through 7.36.

Before discussing these six models, however, a caveat is in order. Although these models represent our first attempts to test substantive network hypotheses, we recognize fully the preliminary nature of these specifications. The process of exploratory model building can proceed in many different directions. Our intention was to establish a model-building and testing strategy that was defensible from both a substantive and methodological perspective. After presenting the results from these initial tests of the relative contributions of network size and content to perceived network satisfaction, we will close with a discussion of what our next analytic steps will be.

Table 7.30

Models for Analyses Of Perceived Network Satisfaction
As a Function of Primary Network Size and
Exchange-Contact

E = ethnicity
W = work status
E * W = interaction of ethnicity and work status

	Perceived Overall Satisfaction with Network	Perceived Satisfaction with Personal and Practical Support
Kin Models:		
(1) Total Primary Kin	E	Not Presented
Number of Difficult Kin	W	
Kin Child-Related Assistance	W	
Kin Emotional Assistance	W	
Family Income	Overall	
Mother's Education	E * W	
(2) Total Primary Kin	E	Not Presented
Number of Difficult Kin	E	
Kin Child-Related Assistance	E	
Kin Emotional Assistance	E	
Family Income	Overall	
Mother's Education	E * W	
(3) Total Primary Kin		E
Number of Difficult Kin		W
Kin Child-Related Assistance		W
Kin Emotional Assistance		W
Non-Kin Models:		
(4) Total Primary Non-Kin	E	
Non-Kin Child-Related Assistance	W	
Non-Kin Emotional Assistance	E	
Family Income	Overall	
Mother's Education	E * W	
(5) Total Primary Non-Kin		E
Number of Difficult Kin		W
Non-Kin Child-Related Assistance		E
Non-Kin Emotional Assistance		E * W
(6) Total Primary Non-Kin		E
Number of Difficult Non-Kin		E
Non-Kin Child-Related Assistance		W
Non-Kin Emotional Assistance		E

The Relationship of Primary Network Kin to Mother's Perceptions of "Overall" Network Satisfaction

Turning our attention first to the series of kin models, the reader can see that regressing perceived overall satisfaction on the set of predictors depicted in Model 1 of Table 7.30 yields very different results for single and married mothers As Table 7.31 shows, fitting this model to observed data results in an overall F ratio of 2.38 for marrieds and 1.17 for singles. While the F ratio for single mothers is non-significant at $p \leq .001$, the F ratio for single mothers is non-significant, with the same degree of freedom for the model. The proportion of total variance, however, accounted for by this model is considerably larger for singles than for marrieds.[1]

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[1] Using these measures to evaluate the overall goodness of fit of a model, the researcher must consider the following statistical properties of each. The F ratio makes a statement about the probability of obtaining an F this large or larger by chance alone, assuming the specified model is the true model; therefore, in Model 1, there is less than one chance in a thousand of obtaining an F this large or larger by chance alone. The R-square, on the other hand, is a measure of the multiple correlation between the observed Y and the predicted Y. This statistic, therefore, is vulnerable to inflation due to multicollinearity among the predictor variables. More specifically, in the case of Model 1, an R^2 of .52 for single mothers could be the result of a strong predictive relationship between the model and the observed Y/ or of strong intercorrelations among the independent variables. Since none of the coefficients associated with the covariates is significant for single mothers, one suspects that the R^2 associated with this model is reflecting multicollinearity more than a strong predictive relationship. This same interpretation will be used to evaluate all six models presented in this chapter for their overall goodness of fit to observed data.

Table 7.31

Regression of Perceived Overall Satisfaction on four kin measures of network size and exchange content, including difficult contacts by work status, and on family income and mother's education

Dependent Variable:	Perceived Overall Network Satisfaction					
	Married Mothers			Single Mothers		
Independent Variable	Coefficient b	Zero-Order (r)	F Ratio	Coefficient b	Zero-Order (r)	F Ratio
1. No. of kin in Primary Net.		(-.08)			(.18)	
Overall effect	.084		2.02	.375		6.10*
R^2 for single predictor		.04	.98		.19	1.69
Non-ethnic	.112	(.03)	1.14	-.579	(.23)	.92
Ethnic	.003	(-.15)	.00	.066	(.12)	.03
(HR) for ethnicity[1]			.80			1.43
2. No. of difficult kin		(-.14#)			(-.47**)	
Overall effect	.31		5.81*	.79		7.08**
R^2 for single predictor		.06	1.62		.21	1.86
Not working	-.226	(-.18)	.92	-.236	(-.46*)	.12
Part-time working	.138	(-.15)	.38	- 8.519	(-.61)	1.39
Full-time working	.72	(-.09)	7.26**	.625	(-.30)	.66
(HR) for work status			3.73*			1.29
3. Child-related assistance, kin		(.02)			(.16)	
Overall effect	.11		1.69	.603		9.12**
R^2 for single predictor		.03	.93		.24	2.23#
Not working	.042	(-.04)	.08	-.303	(.26)	.16
Part-time working	-.642	(.23)	5.71*	17.740	(-.32)	2.02
Full-time working	.117	(.09)	.18	.816	(.19)	.56
(HR) for work status			2.95#			1.38
4. Emotional support, kin		(.03)			(.19)	
Overall effect	.24		4.67*	.65		8.18**
R^2 for single predictor		.05	1.44		.23	2.07#
Not-working	-.255	(.08)	1.93	-.005	(.32)	.00
Part-time working	.812	(-.08)	4.45*	-15.840	(.00)	1.82
Full-time working	.159	(.04)	.25	-.327	(.15)	.10
(HR) for work status			3.35*			.94
5. Family income		(.08)			(-.09)	
Overall effect	3.78		1.82	-9.35		.71
R^2 for single predictor		.04	.95		.09	.71
Overall effect from the six predictor model	.000		.35	.000		1.80
6. Mother's education		(.14#)			(.29*)	
Overall effect	.06		.92	-.11		.18
R^2 for single predictor		.03	.79		.08	.62
Non-ethnic, non-working	.076	(.18)	.34	1.179	(.36)	2.50
Non-ethnic, part-time	.777	(.19)	8.12**	-2.008	(-.31)	5.29
Non-ethnic, full-time	-.229	(-.17)	1.28	.179	(.38)	.10
Ethnic, non-working	-.013	(.16)	.01	.208	(.23)	.07
Ethnic, part-time	-.043	(-.29)	.03	-1.254	(.33)	.27
Ethnic, full-time	.041	(.44)	.16	.010	(.41)	.01
(HR) for E * W			3.07*			.31
R^2 for the six predictor model		.28			.32	
F ratio for six predictor model			2.38**			1.17
N	161			48		

[1] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

# indicates probability ≤ .10
* indicates probability ≤ .05
** indicates probability ≤ .01

Based on these criteria for evaluating the overall goodness of fit, we conclude that this particular model specification represents a better fit to the observed data for married mothers than it does for singles. Our conclusion, however, would be very different if we restricted ourselves to these same explanatory variables used separately as predictors of overall satisfaction. Examining the overall effects associated with treating each of these variables as single predictors (these effects are shown in parentheses in Table 7.31 , the reader can see that these variables are stronger more significant predictors of perceived satisfaction for single than for married mothers. The key question is: why does the predictive strength of network kin variables change so significantly for single mothers as we go from single to multiple, and simultaneous, predictor models? This question, as well as others raised by this analysis, will be addressed in the summary for this section on kin models.

Network Size Versus Network Content in Kin Models

Examining the partial regression coefficients for married mothers in Table 7.31, we observe that, in general, network assistance from kin has a greater impact on perceptions of overall satisfaction than does the absolute number of kin in the primary network. As the reader can see, the effect of total primary kin (variable #1) on perceived overall satisfaction is non-significant for ethnic and non-ethnic married mothers alike; whereas, child-related and emotional assistance from kin both have a significant impact on mothers' overall satisfaction.

Looking still closer, however, we can observe that kin who provide child related assistance and emotional support have differential effects on perceived overall satisfaction, depending on the work status of married mothers. Furthermore, the effect of work status on the relationship of the network covariate to the dependent variable is not the same for these two areas of exchange. More specifically, an increase in the number of kin who provide child-related assistance has a significant negative effect on the overall satisfaction of part-time working mothers; whereas, an increase in kin who provide emotional support has just the opposite effect for this same group of married mothers. Tests of the homogeneity of regressions hypothesis were significant for both of these network covariates; meaning that we could reject the null hypothesis of no difference in regressions for sub-classes of the sample defined by work status.

Translating this finding into an ecological framework, we conclude that one cannot make inferences about the effects of access to network resources on perceived overall satisfaction without taking into account the larger context in which the mother is located. In this case, the pertinent content consists of the mother's work status.

Two key questions that arise from this analysis are: first, why does an increase in child-related assistance have a significantly negative effect on overall satisfaction, while increases in emotional support have a significantly positive effect; and second, why is this pattern of effects restricted to those married mothers who work part-time? The first of these analytic questions will be discussed in the summary which follows this section.

What about the effects of "difficult kin" and demographic characteristics on mothers' perceptions of overall network satisfaction? Turning first to the impact of difficult kin, we observe that an increase in the number of kin labeled "difficult or problematic" has a highly significant effect on the overall satisfaction of full-time working mothers only. But why is the direction of this effect positive and restricted to full-time workers? Our interpretation of this result is that while married mothers who work full-time might experience more conflict with their relatives, they also have more non-kin, work-related contacs in their networks to absorb or deflect this conflict. At this stage of analysis this interpretation is more speculation that anything else. Number of difficult kin, however, was included in this model for another reason. Adjusting total primary kin and exchanges with kin for the number of kin in the network who are "difficult" significantly dampens the differences in regressions for emotional support by work status. Inclusion of difficult kin in the model, however, does not eliminate the differences in regression, rather it increases the probability associated with the F ratio for the test of homogeneity of regressions from the .01 level to the .05 level.

Finally, turning our attention to the impact of income and education in Model 1 on perceptions of overall satisfaction, we observe the following: first, family income has no significant effect on mother's perceptions of overall network satisfaction. This non-effect of family income is consistent across marital status and holds up in both single and multiple-predictor models. Second, and in contrast, the educational level of married mothers does have a significant impact on their perceptions of overall network satisfaction. This effect, however, only emerges when separate regressions are computed for the joint distribution of mothers by ethnicity and work status. Futhermore, the significant positive effect of education on overall satisfaction is restricted to those non-ethnic mothers who work part-time. While non-significant, education has a negative effect for non-ethnic mothers who work full-time as well as a negative effect for all ethnic mothers. Although the significant effect of education is limited to one cell in the model, inclusion of this term had implications for estimating the coefficients of other network covariates. In general, including education by ethnicity and work status resulted in lowering (although not eliminating) the significant effects of child-related and emotional support form kin.

The Role of Ethnicity in Perceived Overall Satisfaction

Results from Model 2, which are presented in Table 7.32 reflect an alternative specification of the same network covariates. In this model, all network covariates are examined separately for the two levels of ethnicity rather than for the three levels of work status as they were in Model 1. Separate models were fit in order to test the homogeneity of regressions hypothesis associated with each classificatory factor because there was no evidence from the first series of models to indicate that network covariates should be examined separately for the interaction of ethnicity with work status.

What do we learn from this alternative specification about the relationship of primary network size and exchange-content to perceived overall satisfaction? First, although fitting Model 2 to observed data results in a slightly poorer fit for marrieds and a slightly better fit for singles, this finding itself does not contribute to our understanding of overall perceived satisfaction. In order to address the above question and determine what has been learned from this alternative specification, we must examine the coefficients directly.

TABLE 7.32

Regression of perceived overall satisfaction on four kin measures of network size and exchange content, including difficult contacts by ethnicity, and on family income and mother's education.

	Dependent Variable:	Perceived Overall Network Satisfaction				
	Married Mothers			Single Mothers		
Independent Variable	Coefficient b	Zero-Order (r)	F Ratio	Coefficient b	Zero-Order (r)	F Ratio
1. No. of kin in Primary Net.		(-.08)			(.18)	
Overall effect	.084		2.02	.375		5.10*
R^2 for single predictor		.04	.98		.19	1.69
Non-ethnic	.025	(.03)	.04	-.572	(.23)	.96
Ethnic	-.011	(-.15)	.01	.179	(.12)	.15
(HR) for ethnicity[1]			.05			1.04
2. No. of difficult kin		(-.14#)			(-.47**)	
Overall effect	.31		5.81*	.79		7.08**
R^2 for single predictor		.06	1.62		.21	1.86
Non-ethnic	.384	(-.21#)	5.24*	.771	(-.36#)	.71
Ethnic	-.190	(-.01)	.44	.454	(-.62**)	.61
(HR) for Ethnicity			2.96#			.09
3. Child-related assistance, kin		(.02)			(.16)	
Overall effect	.11		1.69	.603		9.12**
R^2 for single predictor		.03	.93		.24	2.23#
Non-ethnic	-.226	(-.05)	1.66	1.237	(.26)	1.77
Ethnic	.110	(-.02)	.36	- .305	(-.01)	.09
(HR) for Ethnicity			1.77			1.26
4. Emotional support, kin		(.03)			(.19)	
Overall effect	.24		4.67**	.65		8.18**
R^2 for single predictor		.05	1.44		.23	2.07#
Non-ethnic	.500	(-.05)	6.76**	-8.38	(.14)	1.14
Ethnic	-.338	(.25*)	2.19	.754	(.31)	1.21
(HR) for Ethnicity			7.96			2.45
5. Family Income		(.08)			(-.09)	
Overall effect	3.78		1.82	-9.35		.71
R^2 for single predictor		.04	.95		.09	.71
Overall effect from the six predictor model	.000		.21	.000		1.06
6. Mother's education		(.14#)			(.29*)	
Overall effect	.06		.92	- .11		.18
R^2 for single predictor		(.03)	.79		(.08)	.62
Non-ethnic, non-working	.021	(.18)	.03	.084	(.36)	.02
Non-ethnic, part-time	.868	(.19)	9.86**	-1.541	(-.31)	4.16*
Non ethnic, full-time	-.173	(-.17)	.71	.244	(.38)	.19
Ethnic, non-working	-.024	(.16)	.04	- .310	(.23)	.59
Ethnic, part-time	-.105	(-.29)	.14	.466	(.33)	.06
Ethnic, full-time	.065	(.44)	.19	- .286	(.41)	.10
(HR) for E * W			3.50*			.79
R^2 for six predictor model		.22			.48	
F ratio for six predictor model			1.97**			1.27
N	161			48		

[1] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

# indicates probability ≤ .10
* indicates probability ≤ .05
** indicates probability ≤ .01

Focusing on married mothers, three features of this model stand out. First, we observe that the effect of an increase in the number of kin who provide emotional support on overall satisfaction is significantly different by levels of ethnicity. If fact, the test of the homogeneity of regressions indicates that the difference between levels of ethnicity is greater than the differences among levels of work status in Model 1. In this model, it is for non-ethnics that increases in emotional support from kin have a significantly positive effect on their perceptions of satisfaction. There is some evidence, on the other hand, that ethnic mothers are less satisfied with their networks as emotional support from kin increases. Second, we observe that by decomposing child-related assistance from kin by ethnicity rather than by work status we lose significance. The effect of child-related assistance on perceived satisfaction differs by levels of ethnicity, although the difference in regressions only approaches significance. In this model, it is for non-ethnic mothers that an increase in difficult kin has a positive effect on satisfaction.

Focusing briefly on single mothers, only one feature of Model 2 deserves comment. Examining the effects of emotional support from kin separately by levels of ethnicity rather than by levels of work status represents an improvement in the model specification. It is also interesting to note that the pattern of effects for this covariate are in opposite directions for single and married mothers. Although not significantly different from zero, emotional support from kin tends to have a negative effect on the perceptions of non-ethnic single mothers, while it has a significant positive effect on those of married mothers.

In sum, Model 2 is primarily important for the insight. it provides on how to modify the specifications of our original model (Model 1). The findings of Model 2 indicate that despite earlier results from single predictor models, emotional support from kin should be examined separately for the interaction of ethnicity and work status. Within the framework of a multiple predictor model of overall perceived satisfaction, the same specification change also applies to the number of difficult kin in the network.

The Relationship of Primary Network Kin to Mothers' Perceptions of "Personal and Practical" Network Support

Results from Model 3, which are presented in Table 7.33 represent a change in the dependent variable as well as a change in the combination of independent variables being used to predict this outcome. Rather than focusing on perceived overall satisfaction, in this model we are interested in mothers' perceptions of the amount of help and support they receive from kin in the areas of personal and practical assistance. This dependent variable constitutes a less global evaluation of the network than does perceived overall satisfaction. Our intention with this dependent variable was to capture the relationship between a mother's needs and the capacity of her network of social relations to meet these needs; as such, we consider this variable to be a more refined measure of the perceived fit between personal needs and network resources.

As Table 7.33 indicates, the same specification of network covariates was used to predict perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support as was used in Model 1 to predict overall satisfaction. Model 3 differs, however, from Model 1 in the absence of demographic covariates. Family income and mother's education were omitted from this model because neither of these demographic characteristics has a significant effect on mothers' perceptions of satisfaction with personal and practical support. This finding is consistent across levels of marital status, and it holds up in both single and multiple-predictor models.

In addition to learning that socioeconomic factors have no significant impact on mothers' perceptions of personal and practical support, several other findings from this model deserve comment.

TABLE 7.33

Regression of perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support on four kin measures of network size and exchange, including difficult contacts by work status, and without socioeconomic covariates in the model.

Dependent Variable: Perceived Satisfaction with Personal and Practical Support

Independent Variable	Married Mothers Coefficient b	Married Mothers Zero-Order (r)	Married Mothers F Ratio	Single Mothers Coefficient b	Single Mothers Zero-Order (r)	Single Mothers F Ratio
1. No. of kin in Primary Net.		(.09)			(.23)	
Overall effect	.169		5.76*	.393		10.56**
R^2 for single predictor		.09	2.54*		.23	2.08#
Non-ethnic	.224	(.20#)	3.10#	.015	(.27)	.000
Ethnic	-.009	(-.07)	.01	.003	(.18)	.000
(HR) for Ethnicity[1]			2.39			.000
2. No. of difficult kin		(-.04)			(-.52**)	
Overall effect	.37		5.57*	.77		10.24**
R^2 for single predictor		.09	2.50*		.22	2.02#
Not working	-.076	(-.04)	.07	-.216	(-.52**)	.20
Part-time working	-.106	(-.12)	.14	-2.310	(-.40)	.77
Full-time working	.530	(-.04)	2.46	.944	(-.52#)	3.96#
(HR) for work status			1.30			2.03
3. Child-related assistance, kin		(.18*)			(.11)	
Overall effect	.23		5.15*	.59		13.69**
R^2 for single predictor		.09	2.63*		.27	2.61*
Not working	.040	(.22*)	.05	-.076	(.29)	.03
Part-time working	-.659	(.13)	3.96*	4.912	(.07)	.49
Full-time working	.038	(-.09)	.01	.380	(.12)	.24
(HR) for work status			1.90			.46
4. Emotional support, kin		(.07)			(.16)	
Overall effect	.43		10.89**	.74		19.01**
R^2 for single predictor		.12	3.66**		.34	3.54**
Not working	.034	(.27*)	.02	.498	(.33)	1.64
Part-time working	1.092	(.23)	5.29*	-4.352	(.22)	.42
Full-time working	.220	(-.07)	.31	- .070	(.01)	.01
(HR) for work status			2.05			.49
R^2 for four predictor model		.20			.47	
F ratio for four predictor model			2.26**			1.82#
N	161			48		

[1] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

# indicates probability ≤ .10
* indicates probability ≤ .05
** indicates probability ≤ .01

Besides observing that fitting this model to observed data results in a significant or nearly significant F ratio for singles and marrieds alike, the primary result of this model is one of no finding. That is, while three of the individual coefficients show a significant effect for the network covariates indicated there are not significant differences in regression by ethnicity or work status. This finding is equivalent to accepting the null hypothesis of homogeneity of regressions. In terms of our ecological framework, this finding weakens the generalizability of the maxim that the main effects are themselves interactions. It is interesting to note in passing, however, that the significant effects in this model are again associated with married mothers who work part-time.

The primary implication of this finding is that our model of perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support is misspecified. Two possibilities are considered: either these network covariates should be examined only for their overall effects on the dependent variable or we have included the wrong set of predictors in the model. In reality it is quite possible that the model is misspecified on both counts. Each of these possibilities will be explored in future analyses before we come to any conculsions about the relationship of primary network kin to perceptions of personal and practical support.

Summary of Kin Models

What we have observed about the relationship of primary network kin to mothers' perceptions of network satisfaction is summarized in the following set of remarks. This set of remarks represents observations on both substantive and model-building issues. And, as is frequently the case at this stage of exploratory model building, this list of findings raises more questions about the relative contributions of network size and content to perceived satisfaction than it answers. Rather than serving as stumbling blocks, however, the following list of observations will be used to guide the construction of the next series of kin models.

1. The three alternative specifications of primary network kin variables and socioeconimic characteristics represent a better overall fit to the observed data on married mothers than on singles.

This finding stands in contrast to the results of both correlational analyses, presented earlier in this chapter, and single-predictor models. While several explanations of this finding are possible, the most likely interpretation from our perspective has to do with the strong pattern of intercorrelations among network variables for single mothers. When highly intercorrelated variables are entered simultaneously into an equation, the result can be that there is very little unique variance left over to account for the variations in Y. The primary implication of this finding is for model-building; i.e., in fitting our next series of kin models we must take care to include some network exploratory variables which are not as completely contained in each other and, therefore, are not as highly correlated.

2. Primary network exchange variables rather than primary network size have a greater impact on perceived overall satisfaction. This trend is not nearly as pronounced for perceptions of personal and practical support.

3. Furthermore, we observed that the effects of primary network exchanges with kin were significantly different for child-related and emotional assistance.

While child-related support from kin tended to have a significantly negative effect on overall satisfaction, emotional support showed a stronger and positive effect on the dependent variable. This finding was restricted primarily to married mothers and within marrieds to those non-ethnic mothers who work part-time.

Based on observations 1 and 2 above, we conclude that mere presence of kin is not enough to affect mothers' perceptions of overall satisfaction either positively or negatively. In order to have an impact on this outcome measure, it appears that primary network kin must be providing a real service to mothers rather than just symbolizing sentiment ties. This finding on the relative contribution of "being there" versus "providing something" has potentially powerful implications for research in the area of social support systems. As was pointed out earlier, research in these areas tends to assume that presence in a network translates into support.

Why the effect of child-related assistance from kin is negative is harder to explain. Our interpretation here has to do with the inherent nature of these exchange areas. That is, while assistance in the emotional area is inherently supportive in nature, assistance on child-related issues has the potential to be intrusive or critical. This line of reasoning will be pursued in future analyses.[1]

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[1] It is also possible that the negative effect of child-related assistance from kin is an artifact of our variable construction procedures. The variable, child-related assistance, combines both "babysitting" and "advice on child-rearing." It is conceivable that only those kin who provide advice on child-rearing are responsible for the negative effect of this variable. To test out this alternative explanation, both components of this compound variable will be included simultaneously in the model specifications presented here.

> 4. Still focusing on primary network exchanges, findings from models 1 and 2 alert us to the need to change our model specification for predicting overall satisfaction.

In particular, results from these models indicate that emotional support from kin should be examined separately for each level of the interaction of ethnicity and work status. This change in model specification is equivalent to testing for a three-way interaction among these variables. Child-related assistance, on the other hand, appears to require only separate regressions for levels of work-status, not for levels of ethnicity.

> 5. Of the two socioeconomic characteristics, only mother's education has a significant impact on perceptions of satisfaction. The significance of this variable, however, is restricted to non-ethnic mothers, both single and married, who work part-time.

The puzzle which remains for future analysis is why only this particular group of mothers is significantly affected by education. Arguments that will be pursued have to do with life cycle stage, recency of educational experience, and upward mobility factors.

> 6. Finally, by analyzing the results of Model 3, we have learned that the maxim of

ecological research provides a better guide for understanding the relationship of primary network kin to overall satisfaction than it does for perceptions of personal and practical support.

In the case of perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support, the important effects appear to be truly main effects. Support for this interpretation can be provided by examining the overall effects associated with treating these same network covariates as single predictors of perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support.

Non-Kin Models: The Relationship of Primary Network Non-Kin to Mothers' Perceptions of Network Satisfaction

Using primary network measures of non-kin size and content to predict mothers' perceptions of network satisfaction, results in quite a different picture from that which was observed earlier with kin. While there are still some consistent patterns between these two sets of models, the emphasis here will be on highlighting the differences. This discussion strategy stems from one of the analytic goals mentioned earlier in this chapter, i.e., to explore the differential contributions of kin and non-kin to perceived network satisfaction. In implementing this goal we recognize that specific results from these two sets of models cannot be directly compared without calculating standardized regression coefficients. Our focus, therefore, will be on identifying opposing patterns which result from fitting non-kin models to the same set of observed data. This focus translates into the following four questions of organization:

First, what differences emerge in the overall pattern of relationships between network characteristics of size and content and perceptions of satisfaction when non-kin measures of these characteristics are used as predictors? Second, what are the relative contributions of non-kin network size and content to understanding perceived satisfaction? Third, how, if at all, do these differences correspond to differences in the marital status of mothers? And fourth, how successful are these non-kin models in predicting perceived overall satisfaction versus perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support? The role of mother's education will also be discussed in relation to non-kin Models 4-6.

The most dramatic difference between Models 1-3 and Models 4-6 is that all the non-kin specifications result in a significantly better fit to the observed data for single mothers than they do for marrieds. This finding is in direct contrast to what was observed for the kin models in Tables 7.31 through 7.33

By examining the goodness of fit statistics in Tables 7.34 through 7.36 the reader can see that not only the

Table 7.34

Regression of perceived overall satisfaction on three non-kin measures of network size and exchange content and on family income and mother's education.

Dependent Variable: Perceived Overall Network Satisfaction

Independent Variable	Married Mothers: Coefficient b	Married Mothers: Zero-Order (r)	Married Mothers: F Ratio	Single Mothers: Coefficient b	Single Mothers: Zero-Order (r)	Single Mothers: F Ratio
1. No. of non-kin in Primary Net.		(.13#)			(.25#)	
Overall effect	.344		12.11**	.490		8.82**
R^2 for single predictor		.10	2.70*		.24	2.18#
Non-ethnic	.017	(.15)	.00	-1.61	(.13)	3.52*
Ethnic	.093	(.16)	.05	- .34	(.37)	.93
(HR) for Ethnicity[1]			.03			2.00
2. Emotional/ support, non-kin		(.19*)			(.29*)	
Overall effect	.38		13.74**	.62		11.90**
R^2 for single predictor		.11	3.33**		.28	2.73*
Non-ethnic	.431	(.12)	1.21	1.73	(.22)	3.86*
Ethnic	-.137	(.25*)	.08	.87	(.47*)	1.96
(HR) for Ethnicity			.87			.89
3. Child-related assistance, non-kin		(.13)			(.26#)	
Overall effect	.44		14.29**	.69		12.53**
R^2 for single predictor		.11	3.07		.29	2.83*
Non-working	.083	(.28*)	.04	.73	(.29)	1.77
Part-time working	-.021	(-.04)	.00	-3.24	(.70*)	2.36
Full-time working	* .288	(-.08)	.61	1.15	(.34)	3.26#
(HR) for work status			.44			2.06
4. Family income		(.08)			(-.09)	
Overall effect	3.78		1.82	-9.33		.71
R^2 for single predictor		.04			.09	
Overall effect from the five predictor model	.000		.27	.000		.22
5. Mother's education	.14#				(.29*)	
Overall effect	.06		.92	- .11		.18
R^2 for single predictor		.03	.79		.08	.62
Non-ethnic, non-working	-.037	(.18)	.07	.38	(.36)	.36
Non-ethnic, part-time	.733	(.19)	8.50**	-2.67	(.31)	9.49**
Non-ethnic, full-time	-.207	(-.17)	.96	- .30	(.38)	.77
Ethnic, non-working	-.034	(.16)	.10	- .12	(.23)	.04
Ethnic, part-time	-.139	(-.29)	.20	- .74	(.33)	.18
Ethnic, full-time	.019	(.44)	.03	.72	(.41)	.61
(HR) for E * W			2.91#			1.24
R^2 for five predictor model		.19			.37	
F ratio for five predictor model			1.81*			1.99*
N	181			68		

[1] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

# indicates probability ≤ .10
* indicates probability ≤ .05
** indicates probability ≤ .01

R-squares but the F-ratios associated with these models are considerably larger for single mothers. The one exception to this pattern is reflected in the results of Table 7.34. Here we see that regressing perceived overall satisfaction on a model with mother's education by ethnicity and work status in the equation yields only a slightly better fit for singles than it does for marrieds. The R-squares for Model 5 and 6, however, account for over 60 percent of the variation in perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support and the F ratios associated with these specifications are significant at $p \leq .001$. Therefore, unlike the kin models discussed earlier, the large values of R^2 associated with these non-kin specifications are indicative of strong predictive relationships and not just of intercorrelations among predictor variables.

The strength of non-kin network members for single mothers should be no surprise. All the descriptive and correlational data presented earlier in this chapter anticipated this finding. Several new insights, however, have been gained by fitting these multiple-predictor covariance models. Here the focus of our discussion will be restricted primarily to Models 5 and 6.

The primary insight gained from fitting multiple-predictor models is that the relationships between non-kin exchanges and perceived satisfaction hold up even adjusting for the effects of primary non-kin (size) and number of difficult non-kin. The reader will remember that this was not the case for single mothers when kin models were fit to observed data. A further insight concerns the direction of these effects and the elimination of certain effects for particular subclasses of the single-mother sample.

In Table 7.35 which corresponds to Model 5 of Table 7.30, the relationship indicated by the zero-order correlation between non-kin child-related assistance and perceived personal and practical satisfaction has virtually disappeared (now as a regression coefficient) for non-ethnic mothers. The same thing is true of the relationship between mother's education and the dependent variable for non-ethnic, non-working mothers. In Table 7.36, reversals in the direction of effects are more prevalent. In this model where there are no three-way interactions among classification factors and the network covariate, the relationship between non-kin child-related assistance and the dependent variable changes from a positive correlation coefficient to a significantly negative regression coefficient for non-working single mothers.

Turning our attention to the second thing guiding this discussion, we now ask about the relative contributions of primary network non-kin and exchanges with non-kin. Here we see a more complex, less consistent, pattern of effects

TABLE 7.35

Regression of perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support on four non-kin measures of network size and exchange content, including difficult contacts by work status, and without socioeconomic covariates in the model.

Dependent Variable: Perceived Satisfaction with Personal and Practical Support

Independent Variable	Married Mothers Coefficient b	Married Mothers Zero-Order (r)	Married Mothers F Ratio	Single Mothers Coefficient b	Single Mothers Zero-Order (r)	Single Mothers F Ratio
1. No. of non-kin in Primary Net.		(.15#)			(.23)	
Overall effect	.283		5.43*	.311		5.76*
R^2 for single predictor		.09	2.48*		.15	1.25
Non-ethnic	-.929	(.11)	7.13**	.371	(.20)	1.21
Ethnic	.007	(.20#)	.00	.343	(.28)	.88
(HR) for Ethnicity[1]			1.75			.07
2. No. of difficult non-kin		(.08)			(-.05)	
Overall effect	.50		6.10**	.49		5.38*
R^2 for single predictor		.09	2.39*		.14	1.19
Non-working	.380	(-.05)	.58	-2.628	(-.13)	20.70**
Part-time working	.022	(.18)	.00	.324	(.16)	.18
Full-time working	-.011	(-.60**)	.00	.326	(-.10)	.86
(HR) for work status			.20			9.46**
3. Child-related assistance, non-kin		(.29**)			(.21)	
Overall effect	.33		14.75**	.45		6.97**
R^2 for single predictor		.14	4.11**		.17	1.46
Non-ethnic	1.125	(.06)	7.31**	-.040	(.42*)	.00
Ethnic	-.006	(.19)	.00	-.311	(.14)	.67
(HR) for Ethnicity			2.08			.32
4. Emotional support, non-kin		(.29**)			(.23)	
Overall effect	.33		11.97**	.43		7.45**
R^2 for single predictor		.12	3.63**		.18	1.36
Non-ethnic, non-working	.384	(.33*)	.36	-.202	(.30#)	.08
Non-ethnic, part-time	1.618	(.34)	5.11*	.434	(.61)	.21
Non-ethnic, full-time	.550	(-.39**)	.88	-.496	(.07)	1.37
Ethnic, non-working	.132	(.19)	.05	-.033	(.38#)	.01
Ethnic, part-time	.125	(.23)	.03	.629	(.49)	.28
Ethnic, full-time	.126	(.34)	.02	.838	(-.09)	4.08*
(HR) for E * W			.90			.99
R^2 for four predictor model		.23			.69	
F ratio for four predictor model			2.31**			3.62**
N	161			48		

[1] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

# indicates probability ≤ .10
* indicates probability ≤ .05
** indicates probability ≤ .01

TABLE 7.36

Regression of perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support on four non-kin measures of Network size and exchange content, including difficult contacts by ethnicity, and without socioeconomic covariates in the model.

Dependent Variable:	Perceived Satisfaction with Personal and Practical Support					
	Married Mothers			Single Mothers		
Independent Variable	Coefficient b	Zero-Order (r)	F Ratio	Coefficient b	Zero-Order (r)	F Ratio
1. No. of non-kin in Primary Net.		(.15#)			(.23)	
Overall effect	.283		3.43*	.311		3.76*
R^2 for single predictor		.09	2.48*		.15	1.25
Non-ethnic	- .829	(.11)	3.86*	.139	(.20)	.23
Ethnic	- .611	(20#)	1.61	.733	(.28)	4.97*
(HR) for Ethnicity[1]			.17			2.24
2. No. of difficult non-kin		(.08)			(-.03)	
Overall effect	.30		6.10**	.49		3.38*
R^2 for single predictor		.09	2.39*		.14	1.19
Non-ethnic	.223	(-.24*)	.30	-1.719	(-.11)	18.24**
Ethnic	- .108	(.10)	.03	.116	(.09)	.12
(HR) for ethnicity			.31			12.33**
3. Child-related assistance, non-kin		(.29**)			(.21)	
Overall effect	.33		14.73**	.45		6.97*
R^2 for single predictor		.14	4.11**		.17	1.46
Non-working	.892	(.31**)	3.57*	- .731	(.34)	3.08*
Part-time working	1.001	(.14)	3.08*	.407	(.18)	.13
Full-time working	.658	(-.40*)	2.07	.611	(.24)	2.22
(HR) for work status			.30			3.97*
4. Emotional support, non-kin		(.29**)			(.23)	
Overall effect	.33		11.97**	.43		7.45**
R^2 for single predictor		[illegible]	3.63**		.18	1.36
Non-ethnic	.728	(.03)	2.43	.748	(.18)	3.37#
Ethnic	.071	(.23#)	.02	- .189	(.44#)	.23
(HR) for ethnicity			.84			2.93#
R^2 for four predictor model		.19			.65	
F ratio for four predictor model			2.47**			4.34**
N	161			48		

[1](HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

# indicates probability ≤ .10
* indicates probability ≤ .05
** indicates probability ≤ .01

than was observed for married mothers in the kin models discussed earlier.

As the reader can see by examining the regression coefficients in Tables 7.34-7.36 it is only in Model 6 that exchanges with non-kin have a greater impact on perceived satisfaction than does the mere presence of non-kin at the primary network level. In fact, the results of Model 4 presented in Table 7.34, show that the effects of non-kin size and non-kin exchanges are about equal in significance for single non-ethnic and part-time working mothers. Although the coefficeints associated with these groups are significantly different than zero, the results of Model 4 indicate that there are no significant differences in the effects of network size and content by ethnicity or mother's work status. While this model is far from a final specification of the relationship of primary network non-kin to perceived overall satisfaction, we again have evidence that the main effects are not interactions. It is important to note in passing that this same tentative finding of homogeneity of regressions in Model 4 holds up for marrieds and single mothers alike.

The results of Model 5 present yet another picture. Here, with a three-way interaction between ethnicity, work-status and emotional assistance from non-kin, only emotional assistance and the number of difficult non-kin in the network have a significant effect on the perceived satisfaction of single mothers. The significance of these network covariates is restricted to two groups of single mothers and is only significantly different by levels of work-status for number of difficult non-kin. The situation with married mothers is somewhat different, as the results in Table 7.35 indicate. While number of difficult non-kin has no significant effect, the effect of primary non-kin and child-related assistance on the dependent variable approach significance for non-ethnic married mothers.

It is only in Model 6 that we see evidence of the greater impact of exchanges with non-kin on perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support. As the results in Table 7.36 show, this specification of non-kin network characteristics also accounts for the best overall fit to observed data for both single and married mothers. It is only for single mothers, however, that we observe significant differences in the effects of network covariates by levels of ethnicity and work status. All the covariates in the model, with the exception of primary non-kin, provide support for the basic maxim of ecological research. The most significant differences by subclass are observed for the number of difficult non-kin. Here, as we would expect, perceived satisfaction is inversely related to the number of difficult non-kin. The effect, however, is restricted to non-ethnic single mothers.

Comparing the effects of child-related assistance to those of emotional support, we again see a similar pattern to that which was observed in the kin models for these two covariates:

child-related assistance from non-kin has a significant negative effect on perceived satisfaction with personal and practical support, while emotional assistance from non-kin is significantly positive in its effect. The only difference in this pattern is that in the non-kin model it is non-working single mothers who experience the negative effect of an increase in child-related assistance, while in the kin models it was married mothers who work part-time. The situation for married mothers is reversed in this non-kin specification of perceived satisfaction. Now the effect of an increase in non-kin child-related assistance is significantly positive for both non-working and part-time working married mothers. The puzzle remaining for future analyses is why child-related assistance from non-kin has a significantly negative effect on the perceptions of non-working single mothers.

The role of mother's education in these non-kin models is also similar to what was observed for kin. Again, it is only when perceived overall satisfaction is regressed simultaneously on the set of non-kin primary network variables that education plays a significant role in mediating mother's perceptions of satisfaction. In the non-kin models, in contrast to the kin models, both single and married non-ethnic part-time workers show significant effects for education. The direction of these effects, however, is positive for marrieds and negative for singles. This finding of an opposite effect of education for the same subclass of singles and marrieds leaves us with yet another puzzle for future analysis.

Summary

Although many more observations could be made on the differential contributions of kin and non-kin to mothers' perceptions of network satisfaction, we will restrict ourselves to two summary remarks. *First,* although these models do not represent final tests of our substantive hypothesis, we have *strong evidence to conclude that single and married mothers base their evaluations of their networks on different network resources*. Furthermore, despite the differential contributions of kin and non-kin, we have *strong evidence that satisfaction with personal and practical support is far more critical for single mothers than it is for marrieds.* Both of these findings make sense particularly when placed in the larger context of what we know about the ecology of single parenthood. The findings and analyses presented in this report make a significant contribution to identifying and describing how the ecologies of human development differ for single *versus* two parent families.

Future Steps in The Analysis of Social Network Data

Once again there are many alternative directions we could take as we continue in this process of model building and hypothesis testing. Several directions, however, have been identified which are consistant with both our conceptual and analytic goals. As the reader will remember, these goals were discussed earlier in the chapter. The specific directions for analysis, which are listed below, represent the next logical steps in the iterative process of understanding both the interrelationships among network characteristics and the interrelationships between networks and other levels of the ecology of human development.

Directions for future analysis involve:

1. Inclusion of more complex variables and multiplicative effects into the basic explanatory models for kin and non-kin.

More complex variables refers to measures of role and exchange multistrandedness as well as to the development of indices which weight network exchanges and network size components by the intensity of interaction. Indicators of intensity include frequency of interaction, duration of contact and geographical proximity. The desire to include multiplicative terms in these explanatory models stems from our interest in testing for "second-order effects". The analytic strategy associated with testing for these effects is outlined in Chapter 3. In addition to the multiplicative effects of mother's education and particular network covariates on the dependent variable, we are interested in examining the impact of network size and exchange with frequency of interaction and proximity, over and above any separate influences these variables might have.

2. Further examinations of the relationship of functional network size, content, and intensity to the pattern of effects already established between primary network characteristics and mother's perceptions.

Broadening our focus to include functional network characteristics should improve the predictive strength of these models more for single than for married mothers. Anticipation of this result is based on the correlational patterns for singles and marrieds presented earlier in this chapter.

3. Based on the developments and insights gained from steps 1 and 2 above, a third direction will involve incorporating kin and non-kin measures of network characteristics into the same explanatory models.

This step is in keeping with our goal to analyze the differential contributions of kin and non-kin, at different levels of the network, to mother's perceptions of satisfaction as well as to perceptions of stress and support.

4. Cross-cultural comparisons using data from Black as well as from ethnic and non-ethnic White mothers.

These comparisons will again begin with descriptive and correlational analyses and proceed through the two-stage model-building process discussed in this chapter for non-Black mothers only.

5. Cross-cultural comparisons using data from similar investigations into the ecologies of human development conducted in Wales, Sweden, Germany and Israel.
6. Analysis of the relationships of network characteristics to perceptions of satisfaction, as well as to perceptions of stress and support, using data from the 125 fathers who participated in our Syracuse study. Once data from fathers have been satisfactorily described, our focus will shift to cross-sex comparisons and to the construction of Family Networks.
7. Finally, based on progress from Steps 1-6 above, future analyses will involve construction of causal models.

Structural equation models, as this class of models is labeled within economics and sociology, will be used to estimate the relationship of observed intercorrelations to underlying constructs, or latent variables. Estimating models of this kind will allow us to test two types of hypotheses. First, we can test hypotheses regarding the reliability of our empirical variables as measures, or indicators, of the underlying network constructs discussed earlier in this chapter. And second, we can test hypotheses which specify the causal linkages among these network constructs or the causal linkages between networks and other underlying constructs relevant to perceptions of stress and support. Jöreskog (1978), a principle author of the statistical and computational techniques necessary for estimating this class of models, expresses the first type of hypothesis in terms of fitting measurement models, while the second hypothesis is equivalent to estimating structural equations models with unobservables.

In Chapter 8 which follows, we build on the results presented here as well as on those presented in Chapter 3 in order to construct linkages between network characteristics and mother's perceptions of intrafamilial stress.

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CHAPTER 8

PRIMARY NETWORKS AND MATERNAL PERCEPTIONS

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In this chapter, we report results from models that represent our first serious attempt to construct linkages across themes -- specifically, mothers' perceptions of themselves, their husbands, and their children linked to characteristics of their priamry social networks -- taking into account several independent variables simultaneously. Our assumption in this analysis is that network resources have an effect on the mother's outlook, and our models are specified in this way. This assumption of implied direction is also evidenced in Deborah Belle's work on social networks as a source of both stress and support for low-income mothers (Belle, Note 1). Inspired by the "Bott tradition" of social network analysis, Virginia Abernethy (1972) also assumes a causal connection between network characteristics and the maternal role.

Challenges to this direction of causality are, of course, appropriate -- especially when analyses have been based exclusively on non-experimental data. In the final section of this chapter we issue such a challenge and discuss the likelihood of observing reversed causality based on data from the intervention component of the Family Matters Project.

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We used a model for the analyses reported in this chapter that included three classification factors: mother's ethnicity (ethnic versus non-ethnic), family structure (single versus married), and sex of target child. The maternal perceptions we examined as dependent variables were of the child, the spouse, and the mother herself as a parent. On the independent side, we initially considered a variety of network variables, but chose to focus on the primary network, distinguishing those members who were kin from those who were not (see Chapter 7).

Before developing more complex models, we first examined, for each intrafamilial perception, the network variables one at a time. These network variables included: size of the total network, total kin in the primary network, total primary non-kin, number of kin in the primary network with whom there are child-related exchanges, the corresponding number of non-kin, the number of kin in the primary network with whom there are emotional exchanges, and the corresponding non-kin. We estimated and tested the individual significance and the equality of the regressions of perceptions on network characteristics, separately for each of the eight subclasses defined by the three classification factors. These results were used as a basis for specifying the more complex models that are presented in this chapter. The findings, together with theoretical considerations, led to three basic sets of network variables to be examined as groups: (1) total primary non-kin, child-related exchanges with non-kin, and emotional exchanges with non-kin; (2) total primary kin, child-related exchanges with kin, and emotional exchanges with kin; and (3) total network, total primary non-kin, and total primary kin.

The results for one variable at a time also were used to decide for which subclasses regressions should be specified separately, and for which they could be pooled. Since these first-stage runs did not adjust for other network variables, SES, and other demographic characteristics, and since the results in more complete models could be different, we were conservative in making decisions to pool regressions over subclasses. In the more complete models, we wished to take into account the effects of socioeconomic variables. Based on the results of earlier chapters, we selected family income and mother's education as important variables to consider. We included these variables as overall regressions which allowed their effects to be examined at the overall level, and reduced the complexity of the models that would have occurred if they, in addition to the network variables, had been specified by subclasses. Each basic model was analyzed both with and without these two demographic variables in order to determine more completely their effects.

Table 8.1 shows the final models we developed and analyzed for this chapter. The columns are the dependent variables and, for each model, blocks of rows represent the set of independent variables. The table entries specify on which subclasses the regressions were computed. All models also, of course, include the three classification factors themselves and their interactions. These models can also be viewed in terms of a schema such as that shown in Figure 8.1.

The model that we developed allowed single and married mothers to be looked at simultaneously and separately. For variables that are relevant only in two-parent families, such as perception of the spouse, we examine only that sample.

These models are of reasonable complexity, yet they still cannot be regarded as having reached their final form. Still to be examined are alternative combinations of network and demographic variables, neighborhoods and neighborhood types, simultaneous equation models involving more than one dependent variable, and alternative causal assumptions.

The Mother's Perceptions of Herself As A Parent

What effects does the mother's primary network, including access to child-related and emotional support from primary

Table 8.1

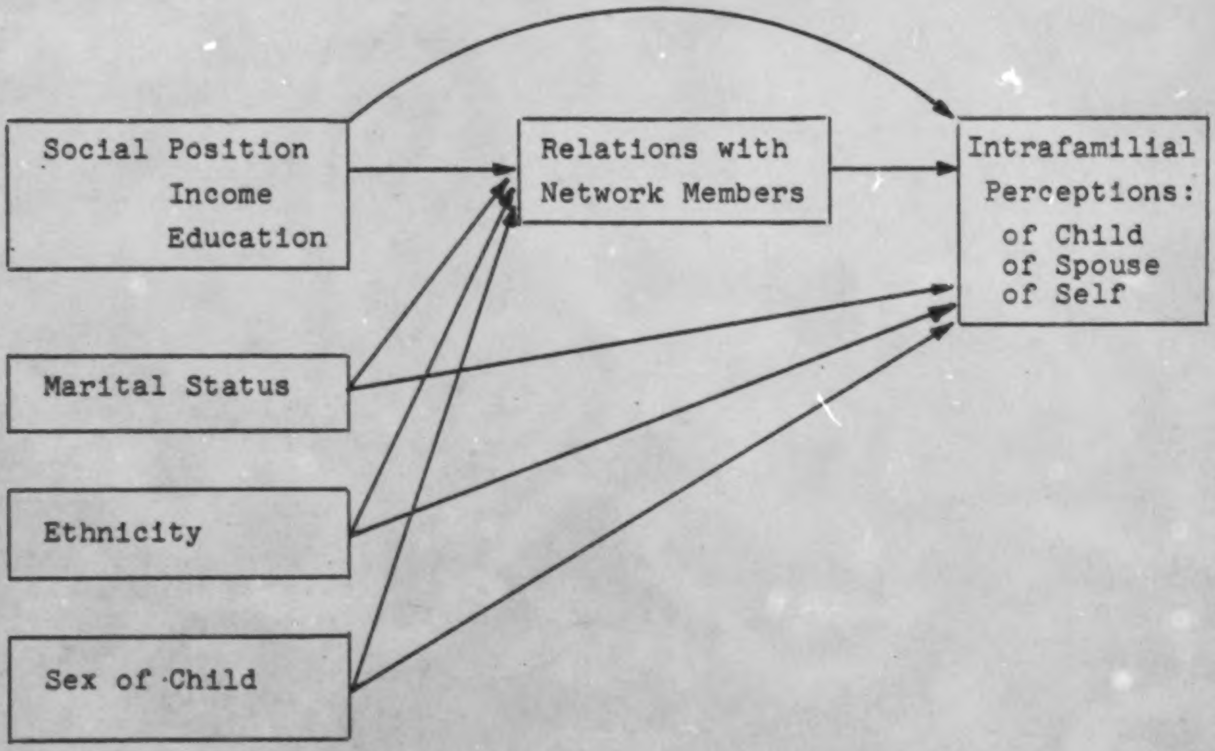
Models for Analyses of Intrafamilial Perceptions In Relation to the Primary Network

E = ethnicity
P = family structure
S = sex of child

	Perception of Child	Perception of Spouse	Perception of Self as Parent
a.			
total primary kin	overall	ES	EPS
kin child-related exchanges	overall	ES	EPS
kin emotional exchanges	EPS	ES	EPS
b.			
total primary kin	overall	ES	EPS
kin child-related exchanges	overall	ES	EPS
kin emotional exchanges	EPS	ES	EPS
income	overall	overall	overall
mother's education	overall	overall	overall
c.			
total priamry non-kin	overall	overall	overall
non-kin child-related exchanges	EPS	EPS	EPS
non-kin emotional exchanges	overall	overall	overall
d.			
total primary non-kin	overall	overall	overall
non-kin child-related exchanges	EPS	EPS	EPS
non-kin emotional exchanges	overall	overall	overall
income	overall	overall	overall
mother's education	overall	overall	overall
e.			
total network	overall	overall	EPS
primary non-kin	overall	overall	EPS
primary kin	overall	overall	EPS
f.			
total network	overall	overall	EPS
primary non-kin	overall	overall	EPS
primary kin	overall	overall	EPS
income	overall	overall	overall
mother's education	overall	overall	overall

Figure 8.1

Intrafamilial Perceptions as a Function of Networks and Background Characteristics


Social Position
Income
Education
Marital Status
Ethnicity
Sex of Child
Relations with Network Members
Intrafamilial Perceptions:
of Child
of Spouse
of Self

network members, have on her perception of herself as a parent? Three basic models were used to address this question. In the first basic model, aspects of the kin network were examined in relation to the mother's perception of herself as parent, while in a second model, only non-kin network characteristics were included. In a third model, only network size variables were included (in addition to the classification factors) as predictors of the outcome measure. Each of these basic models was analyzed with and without mother's education and family income included as covariates. These four models are shown in the last column entries for rows a-f of Table 8.1.

Kin in the Primary Network

Looking first at the models involving kin, the most obvious finding is that variation in the number and behavior of relatives viewed as "most important" affects only the perceptions of those mothers who are single. Looking at Table 8.2, we see that it is the single mothers with strong ethnic backgrounds and with a female target child who are most affectd by the support they have in their "inner circle" of kin. The perceptions of those mothers are enhanced as the number of relatives grows larger, and as the emotional support provided by them increases. In contrast, greater involvement of these close relatives in child-related

Table 8.2

Regression of "Mother's Perception of Self as Parent" on three Primary Network Kin Variables with Socioeconomic Covariates in the model.

Independent Variables	Kin Emotional Exchanges		Total Primary Kin		Kin Child-Related Exchanges		Education & Income	
	Coefficient b	Prob	Coefficient b	Prob	Coefficient b	Prob	Coefficient b	Prob
Overall Effects:								
Education							.10	.08#
Income							.000005	.80
Overall b	.26	.11	.21	.08#	-.45	.04*		
Effects by Smallest Subclasses[1]:								
N=18 $e_1p_1s_1$	-.32	.41	.06	.89	.30	.58		
11 $e_1p_1s_2$	.58	.49	-1.02	.07#	.55	.40		
44 $e_1p_2s_1$	.19	.45	.001	1.00	-.0002	1.00		
46 $e_1p_2s_2$	.02	.92	.11	.26	.03	.88		
10 $e_2p_1s_1$	.17	.70	-.14	.58	-.41	.52		
9 $e_2p_1s_2$	1.41	.03*	2.39	.00001**	-3.87	.002**		
35 $e_2p_2s_1$	.20	.35	-.03	.77	-.08	.60		
30 $e_2p_2s_2$	-.16	.63	.13	.24	-.10	.78		
Tests of Homogeneity of Regression:								
For Entire Sample:								
e_1	.12	.63	-.21	.25	.22	.33		
e_2	.40	.07#	.64	.0001**	-1.11	.003**		
(HR)[2](E)	-1.14	.39	-3.40	.0005**	5.34	.002**		
p_1	.46	.14	.37	.11	-.86	.04*		
p_2	.06	.62	.05	.41	-.04	.74		
(HR)(P)	1.39	.23	1.26	.19	-3.27	.06#		
e_1p_1	.13	.78	-.48	.17	.43	.32		
e_1p_2	.11	.50	.08	.60	.01	.92		
e_2p_1	.79	.05*	1.22	.0001**	-2.14	.003**		
e_2p_2	.02	.93	.05	.49	-.09	.64		
(HR)(EP)	-1.49	.26	-3.42	.0006**	4.93	.005**		
s_1	.06	.72	-.03	.84	-.05	.83		
s_2	.46	.11	.45	.02*	-.85	.02*		
(HR)(S)	-1.60	.23	-1.92	.05*	3.21	.06#		
e_1s_1	-.06	.78	.03	.90	.13	.61		
e_1s_2	.30	.49	-.46	.11	.29	.39		
e_2s_1	.18	.46	-.09	.53	-.24	.45		
e_2s_2	.62	.09#	1.36	.00001**	-1.98	.003**		
(HR)(ES)	.15	.91	3.86	.001**	-3.75	.03*		
p_1s_1	-.07	.80	-.04	.86	-.05	.90		
p_1s_2	.99	.06#	.78	.04*	-1.66	.02*		
p_2s_1	.20	.24	-.01	.90	-.04	.76		
p_2s_2	-.07	.71	.12	.10#	-.04	.85		
(HR)(PS)	-2.67	.05*	-1.38	.15	3.23	.06#		
(HR)(EPS)	.52	.69	3.77	.0001**	-3.67	.03*		
For Two Parents Only:								
e_1	.11	.50	.08	.60	.01	.92		
e_2	.02	.93	.05	.49	-.09	.64		
(HR)(E)	.18	.73	.01	.96	.20	.56		
s_1	.20	.24	-.01	.90	-.04	.76		
s_2	-.07	.71	.12	.10#	-.04	.85		
(HR)(S)	.53	.30	-.27	.30	-.01	.98		
(HR)(ES)	-.19	.71	.06	.36	-.06	.93		
For One Parent Only:								
e_1	.13	.78	-.48	.17	.43	.32		
e_2	.79	.05*	1.22	.0001**	-2.14	.003**		
(HR)(E)	-1.32	.28	-3.41	.0002**	5.13	.002**		
s_1	-.07	.80	-.04	.86	-.05	.90		
s_2	.99	.06#	.78	.04*	-1.66	.02*		
(HR)(S)	-2.14	.08#	-1.65	.07#	3.22	.05*		
(HR)(ES)	.33	.79	3.32	.0001**	-3.71	.03*		

[1] E = Ethnicity (1 = non-ethnic, 2 = ethnic)
P = Family Structure (1 = one parent, 2 = two parents)
S = Sex of Target Child (1 = boy, 2 = girl)

# indicates $p \leq .10$
* indicates $p \leq .05$
** indicates $p \leq .01$

[2] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

support (advice, child care) has a significant negative effect on the perceptions of mothers describing their female children.

Shifting to the non-ethnic, single mothers describing girls, we see a marginally significant negative relationship between number of kin in the primary network and perception of self as a parent. Greater availability of child-related and emotional support have a generally positive but non-significant effect. The single mothers with boys show no patterns of relationship between these network variables and perception of self as parent that approach significance.

While separate regressions by model subclasses were not calculated, only education has a marginally significant overall effect on mothers' self perceptions. Increases in mothers' educational level tend to be associated with more positive views of themselves as parents. Future analyses of the role of education and income in mediating mothers' perceptions will examine the interaction of these demographic covariates with ethnicity, family structure, sex of target child, and work status.

Primary Non-Kin

Table 8.3 shows the results of the model that did not include the demographic characteristics. The network

Table 8.3

Regression of "Mother's Perception of Self as Parent" on three Primary Network Non-Kin Variables without Socioeconomic Covariates in the model.

Overall Effects of the Independent Variables	Coefficient b	Prob
Total Primary Non-Kin	-.10	.47
Non-Kin Emotional Exchanges	.36	.02*
Non-Kin Child-Related Exchanges	-.10	.56

Effects of Non-Kin Child-Related Exchanges		Coefficient b	Prob
By Smallest Subclasses[1]:			
N=18	$e_1p_1s_1$	.09	.76
11	$e_1p_1s_2$	-.91	.09#
44	$e_1p_2s_1$	-.01	.95
46	$e_1p_2s_2$	.13	.47
10	$e_2p_1s_1$	-1.81	.05*
9	$e_2p_1s_2$	1.67	.0000**
35	$e_2p_2s_1$	.13	.58
30	$e_2p_2s_2$	-.11	.72
Tests of Homogeneity of Regression:			
For Entire Sample:			
	e_1	-.18	.35
	e_2	-.03	.91
	(HR)[2](E)	-.57	.63
	p_1	-.24	.40
	p_2	.03	.83
	(HR)(P)	-1.09	.35
	e_1p_1	-.41	.19
	e_1p_2	.06	.73
	e_2p_1	-.07	.88
	e_2p_2	.01	.97
	(HR)(EP)	-.77	.52
	s_1	-.40	.14
	s_2	.19	.28
	(HR)(S)	-2.38	.05*
	e_1s_1	.04	.85
	e_1s_2	-.39	.17
	e_2s_1	-.84	.08#
	e_2s_2	.78	.0002**
	(HR)(ES)	4.11	.0002**
	p_1s_1	-.86	.08
	p_1s_2	.38	.19
	p_2s_1	.06	.76
	p_2s_2	.01	.96
	(HR)(PS)	-2.37	.03*
	(HR)(EPS)	-.10	.56
For Two Parents Only:			
	e_1	.06	.73
	e_2	.01	.97
	(HR)(E)	.10	.82
	s_1	.06	.76
	s_2	.01	.96
	(HR)(S)	.09	.83
	(HR)(ES)	-.38	.38
For One Parent Only:			
	e_1	-.41	.19
	e_2	-.07	.88
	(HR)(E)	-.67	.55
	s_1	-.86	.08#
	s_2	.04	.19
	(HR)(S)	-2.47	.03*
	(HR)(ES)	4.86	.0001**

[1] E = Ethnicity (1 = non-ethnic, 2 = ethnic)
P = Family Structure (1 = one parent, 2 = two parents)
S = Sex of Target Child (1 = boy, 2 = girl)

# indicates $p \leq .10$
* indicates $p \leq .05$
** indicates $p \leq .01$

[2] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

variables are the non-kin equivalents of those in the earlier table: non-kin in the primary network, child-related support from those non-kin, and the emotional support they provide. As Table 8.1 indicates, only the child-related support variable was specified separately for each model subclass. Based on earlier runs, which showed no significant differences by subclass for the other two variables, we included them in these analyses as overall regressions.

It is clear from Table 8.3 that size of primary network is not in itself a factor in the perceptions of these mothers when the exchange variables are included in the analysis. However, the exchanges themselves tell a different story. With non-kin, as with kin, it is the single mothers who are affected.

In the case of child-related support from non-kin, the data present a very differentiated picture. Again it is the single mothers with ethnic backgrounds who are sensitive to changes in the amount of support available in this area. But with non-kin, an increase in child-related support has an opposite effect on mothers' self perceptions depending on the sex of the target child. Single, ethnic mothers' perceptions of themselves as parents seem to be significantly enhanced by child-related support from primary non-kin if the child is a girl, and significantly reduced when they have a boy child. Non-ethnic single mothers, on the other hand, tend to have less positive self-perceptions with more child-related exchanges involving their daughters. This pattern observed in the data for single mothers results in significantly different regressions for the three-way interaction of ethnicity, sex of child, and the network variable. There are no significant trends in two-parent families.

The picture for emotional support is one of an overall positive relationship between it and self-regard as a parent. In fact, earlier analyses relating this single network variable (emotional support from non-kin at the primary level) to perception of self as parent indicated that the mothers most affected were single and from ethnic backgrounds.

Three Levels of Network Size: An Alternative Hypothesis

A logical question that emerges from the analysis of the two preceeding basic model specifications is: what independent effects do primary network kin and non-kin characteristics have on mothers' perceptions of themselves as parents, adjusting for the size of the total network? This question arises from a concern regarding the total "pool of eligibles" from which primary network members are selected. By restricting our analysis of mothers' perceptions to the primary level of the network, we have avoided addressing this issue. It is possible, for example, that the effects of primary kin and non-kin on the dependent variable decrease once they have been adjusted for the total number of contacts in the network. Such a pattern of effects would be consistent with the "choice" model of network functioning, as it has been developed by Claude Fischer (1977) and Mark Granovetter (1973).

The "choice versus constraint" model stipulates that the larger the pool of eligibles from which a parent is selecting individuals for various roles or functions within the network, the more choice the parent can exercise in making these selections. Based on this line of reasoning, Granovetter argues that the mere presence of alternative paths or selection options can itself have a significant positive effect on an individual's perceptions of the world. In the context of the models discussed above, this would amount to a potentially spurious relationship between total primary kin and mothers' perceptions of themselves as parents. From the perspective of the choice model, such relationships as we observed are potentially spurious because effects attributed to the number of primary kin could actually be mediated by the number of eligibles from which this subset was selected. This same argument could also be applied to the relationships of primary network exchanges to the dependent variable of interest.

Ideally, this line of reasoning should be developed for all model specifications which focus exclusively on the primary level of the network. Given the constraints of time, however, this working hypothesis will only be examined as it applies to primary network size variables -- using perceptions of self as parent as the dependent variable. Additional tests of this general hypothesis will be pursued in future analysis.

Results of this preliminary test of the "choice" hypothesis are presented in Table 8.4. Comparing the results from Model f (see Table 8.1) to the results we obtain from treating each variable in the equation as a single predictor of mothers' perceptions, we find only partial support for the "choice hypothesis." With size of the total network in the model, along with the two demographic covariates, the effects of primary network kin on the dependent variable do indeed decrease, if not disappear entirely.

Although not presented here, the results from these single predictor models show that with size of total network in the equation, the coefficients associated with primary network kin are no longer significantly different by ethnicity, sex of child, or for the interactions of ethnicity with family structure and family structure with sex of child. This dampening effect, however, is restricted only to the coefficients and tests of homogeneity of regression

Table 8.4
Regression of "Mother's Perception of Self as Parent" on three Network Size Variables with Socioeconomic Covariates in the model.

Independent Variables	Total Network Coefficient b	Total Network Prob	Total Primary Non-Kin Coefficient b	Total Primary Non-Kin Prob	Total Primary Kin Coefficient b	Total Primary Kin Prob	Education & Income Coefficient b	Education & Income Prob
Overall Effects:								
Education							.11	.07#
Income							.00001	.72
Overall b	-.02	.49	.11	.27	.06	.58		
Effects by Smallest Subclasses[1]:								
N=18 $e_1p_1s_1$	-.09	.26	.20	.46	.35	.21		
11 $e_1p_1s_2$	.01	.94	.23	.27	-.61	.19		
44 $e_1p_2s_1$	-.05	.18	.11	.58	.14	.26		
46 $e_1p_2s_2$	-.01	.66	.05	.69	.13	.16		
10 $e_2p_1s_1$	.09	.26	-.83	.10#	-.42	.06#		
9 $e_2p_1s_2$	-.08	.57	.92	.01**	.72	.14		
35 $e_2p_2s_1$	-.02	.46	.20	.21	.03	.78		
30 $e_2p_2s_2$	.01	.79	.04	.90	.10	[illegible]		
Tests of Homogeneity of Regression:								
For Entire Sample:								
e_1	-.03	.23	.15	.16	.01	.97		
e_2	-.002	.96	.08	.65	[illegible]	.45		
(HR)[2](E)	-.13	.54	.26	.75	-.40	.61		
p_1	-.02	.68	.13	.47	.01	.95		
p_2	-.02	.26	.10	.34	.10	.06#		
(HR)(P)	-.02	.94	.11	.89	-.35	.65		
e_1p_1	-.04	.43	.21	.21	-.13	.64		
e_1p_2	-.03	.18	.08	.30	[illegible]	.08#		
e_2p_1	.001	.99	.04	.89	.15	.58		
e_2p_2	-.01	.79	.12	.49	.06	.38		
(HR)(EP)	-.04	.84	.42	.61	-.71	.37		
s_1	-.02	.37	-.08	.60	.03	.79		
s_2	-.02	.64	.31	.02*	.08	.63		
(HR)(S)	.01	-.57	-1.96	.06#	-.23	.77		
e_1s_1	-.07	.12	.15	.36	.25	.11		
e_1s_2	-.001	.97	.14	.25	-.24	.31		
e_2s_1	.03	.41	-.32	.24	-.19	.11		
e_2s_2	-.04	.62	.48	.05*	.41	.11		
(HR)(ES)	-.28	.18	1.61	.05*	2.17	.006**		
p_1s_1	-.001	.99	-.32	.27	-.03	.86		
p_1s_2	-.04	.63	.37	.01**	.05	.87		
p_2s_1	-.03	.14	.15	.22	.08	.29		
p_2s_2	.0002	.99	.05	.78	.11	.10#		
(HR)(PS)	.14	.49	-1.99	.02*	-.11	.89		
(HR)(EPS)	-.25	.22	1.83	.03	2.01	.01**		
For Two Parents Only:								
e_1	-.03	.18	.08	.30	.14	.08#		
e_2	-.01	.79	.12	.49	.06	.38		
(HR)(E)	-.04	.44	-.08	.85	.15	.45		
s_1	-.03	.14	.15	.22	.08	.29		
s_2	.0002	.99	.05	.78	.11	.10#		
(HR)(S)	-.07	.24	.21	.60	-.06	.78		
(HR)(ES)	-.01	.85	-.11	.79	.08	.70		
For One Parent Only:								
e_1	-.04	.43	.21	.21	-.13	.64		
e_2	.001	.99	.04	.89	.15	.58		
(HR)(E)	-.08	.67	.34	.63	-.53	.47		
s_1	-.001	.99	-.32	.27	-.03	.86		
s_2	-.04	.63	.37	.01**	.05	.87		
(HR)(S)	.08	.70	-1.78	.01**	-.17	.83		
(HR)(ES)	-.26	.18	1.72	.02*	2.09	.006**		

[1] E = Ethnicity (1 = non-ethnic, 2 = ethnic)
P = Family Structure (1 = one parent, 2 = two parents)
S = Sex of Target Child (1 = boy, 2 = girl)

# indicates p ≤ .10
* indicates p ≤ .05
** indicates p ≤ .01

for the pooled sample of single and married mothers. The effects of primary network kin on single mothers' perceptions of themselves as parents appear to be only slightly affected by the inclusion of size of total network in the model. Size of the total network by itself, adjusted for the effects of primary network kin and non-kin, has no significant effect on either single or married mothers' perceptions of themselves as parents. In contrast to primary network kin, there is some evidence that the effects of primary network non-kin are increased when size of total network is controlled. Again, this tentative pattern appears to hold only for single mothers.

While this analysis by no means represents a comprehensive test of the "choice hypothesis", the results we obtained do indeed fit patterns already observed in our data. In particular, it is not surprising that controlling for the effects of the total network has a greater impact on married mothers than it does for singles. As was observed in Chapter 7, married mothers have on average both larger total networks and more kin than their single-parent counterparts. These mean differences in favor of marrieds, however, tend to disappear as we go from the level of the total network to that of the primary. At the primary network level, marrieds have only slightly more kin than singles, but considerably fewer non-kin. Therefore, by controlling for the size of the total network, we compensate single mothers for their initial size disadvantage and place the burden of prediction solely on the effects of primary kin and non-kin. The end result for non-kin is one of advantage for single mothers since at the primary network level they have more strength in this suit than their married counterparts.

Summary

Let us briefly summarize what has been learned about the effects of the size and functioning of the primary network on the mother's perception of herself as a parent. First, the primary network (as represented in these models) is related much more strongly to the perceptions of single mothers than to married mothers. In both kin and non-kin models, the significant effects are restricted to this subsample. Explanations of the enhanced role networks play in the lives of single mothers are presented in Chapter 7 as part of the discussion of correlational trends in the data.

Second, while both relatives and non-relatives have significance for the perceptions of these single mothers, their impact varies depending on the exchange-content of the relationships. The important implication of this finding is that we cannot generalize about the role of kin or non-kin in the lives of single parents, without specifying what aspect of their lives we are discussing. Non-kin who provide child related assistance can be both an asset and a liability depending on the sex of the target child, whereas emotional support appears always to have a positive effect irrespective of the source. The size of the kin and non-kin components of the primary network also have different impacts on the lives of single mothers. Here we speculate: are relationships with kin more prescribed and therefore more predictable in both the demands and limitations they place on single mothers? Answers to such questions must wait for further analyses, when we begin to combine all aspects of kin and non-kin networks in the same model.

Third, a strong ethnic background appears to enhance the effect of the primary network on these perceptions, and that effect transcends the kin/non-kin distinction. Fourth, we observe partial support of the hypothesis that the effects of primary network kin on the dependent variable are mediated by the total pool of eligibles from which a mother selects these "most important" relatives. And finally, how support affects mothers' perceptions of themselves as parents depends in part on the content of the support provided.

Emotional support has a generally positive effect, regardless of who provides it (kin/non-kin). Child-related involvement can have a negative effect, especially in the case of ethnic mothers with boys and non-ethnic mothers with girls. It is interesting that these should be the same subgroups that were identified as "focal" in the earlier chapter on family perceptions. There the hypothesis introduced took into account differences in family roles and ideologies associated with ethnic versus non-ethnic families. In such an interpretation, boys are seen as especially favored in ethnic families, and girls in less traditional non-ethnic families. Thus, to return to the current findings, single mothers who have unambiguous child rearing goals for the child being described may find involvement in child rearing by close relatives and friends unnecessary and even annoying. Where there is less clarity of goal (ethnic girls, non-ethnic boys), kin might still be viewed as interfering, but the views of close friends might be seen as helpful.

Relationship of the Primary Network to Mothers' Perceptions of the Child

In this section, we examine the effect the primary networks characteristics have on mothers' perceptions of her (target) child. Again, two basic models were used to address this question.

Primary Network Kin

Findings involving relatives in the primary network are summarized in Table 8.5. The reader can see that the number of kin in the primary network is, over all groups, positively related to positive perceptions of the child. While this variable was not specified with separate regressions by subclasses, examination of previous analyses (that did not include other network variables) relating size of the primary network to perception of the child indicated that the effect is quite similar across married and single mothers, regardless of ethnic background.

Turning to the exchange resources provided by kin primary network members, we find no contribution made by child-related support to how the mother perceives the child. A check of the analysis that included all three network variables but excluded the demographic covariates showed that child-related support still had no significant relationship with perception of the child, so it is not that an effect is being washed out by the presence of the education variable. Yet earlier, when child-related support was analyzed as the only network variable in the equation, some differences in relation to the perceptions of the child did emerge. Because those providing support to the mother are a subset of the primary network, it is possible that the effect of child-related support is dampened by that of primary network size. Further light on the matter is provided by the results pertaining to provision of emotional

Table 8.5
Regression of "Mother's Perception of Target Child" on three Primary Network Kin Variables with Socioeconomic Covariates in the model.

Overall Effects of the Independent Variables	Coefficient b	Prob
Education	.20	.0004**
Income	-.001	.79
Total Primary Kin	.15	.007**
Kin Child-Related Exchanges	-.12	.21
Kin Emotional Exchanges	.23	.11

Effects of Kin Emotional Exchanges	Coefficient b	Prob
By Smallest Subclasses[1]:		
N=18 $e_1p_1s_1$	.52	.08#
11 $e_1p_1s_2$	.95	.18
44 $e_1p_2s_1$	-.21	.35
46 $e_1p_2s_2$	.35	.03*
10 $e_2p_1s_1$	-.14	.71
9 $e_2p_1s_2$	.30	.44
35 $e_2p_2s_1$	.11	.57
30 $e_2p_2s_2$	-.07	.77
Tests of Homogeneity of Regression:		
For Entire Sample:		
e_1	.40	.06#
e_2	.05	.76
(HR)[2](E)	1.4[illegible]	.16
p_1	.41	.09#
p_2	.05	.69
(HR)(P)	1.45	.15
e_1p_1	.73	.06#
e_1p_2	.07	.62
e_2p_1	.08	.76
e_2p_2	.02	.90
(HR)(EP)	1.20	.23
s_1	.07	.63
s_2	.38	.09#
(HR)(S)	-1.25	.21
e_1s_1	.16	.41
e_1s_2	.65	.07#
e_2s_1	-.01	.95
e_2s_2	.11	.62
(HR)(ES)	-.74	.46
p_1s_1	.19	.42
p_1s_2	.62	.12
p_2s_1	-.05	.75
p_2s_2	.14	.34
(HR)(PS)	-.49	.62
(HR)(EPS)	.74	.46
For Two Parents Only:		
e_1	.07	.62
e_2	.02	.90
(HR)(E)	.10	.79
s_1	-.05	.75
s_2	.14	.34
(HR)(S)	-.38	.33
(HR)(ES)	-.76	.06#
For One Parent Only:		
e_1	.73	.06#
e_2	.08	.76
(HR)(E)	1.31	.15
s_1	.19	.42
s_2	.62	.12
(HR)(S)	-.87	.34
(HR)(ES)	.001	.99

[1] E = Ethnicity (1 = non-ethnic, 2 = ethnic)
P = Family Structure (1 = one parent, 2 = two parents)
S = Sex of Target Child (1 = boy, 2 = girl)

# indicates p ≤ .10
* indicates p ≤ .05
** indicates p ≤ .01

[2] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

support, which in this model has regressions specified separately by subclasses. There the pattern of effects is similar to that found in the fully specified versions of primary network size and child-related support, except that the generally positive effect of emotional support on perception of the child is somewhat stronger for ethnic than non-ethnic mothers. A comparison of the model containing several network variables with the single-variable analysis indicates that they are almost identical in regard to this variable, suggesting that the effects of emotional support are not being altered by inclusion of primary network size. Such could still be the case, however, for the child-related support variable.

Finally, we observe that education once again has a significantly positive overall impact on mothers' perceptions of their children, controlling for the effects of primary kin. Family income, on the other hand, has no overall effect in this model. More complete tests of the role of demographic characteristics in mediating perceptions of the target child depend on examining these regressions separately by ethnicity, family structure, and sex of target child.

Primary Non-Kin

The results pertaining to the model relating non-kin membership in the primary network to the mother's perceptions of the child are shown in Table 8.6. The reader can see that number of non-kin at the primary level has no effect on these perceptions. It is interesting to see that child-related assistance from non-kin again has a negative effect; in particular, the child is perceived as more difficult when more non-kin are involved, primarily in the case of single mothers, especially single, ethnic mothers of boys.

The analysis shows no significant effects for emotional support for non-kin. Again we compared these findings with those generated earlier in the analysis of the single network variable and found that in the earlier model, emotional support had quite a strong positive effect on perceptions of the child, primarily for married mothers and especially if they were non-ethnic. The question becomes, what else in the more inclusive analysis might have acted to wash out the effect of emotional support? We know that controlling for educational background was not the cause since there is no significance for emotional support in the three-variable model that did not contain the demographic covariates. In an analysis of an additional model, omitting only the child-related exchange variable, we found that the positive effect of emotional exchange still was present. Thus it appears that the benefits of emotional support do not exist when differences in child-related support from non-kin are controlled for.

Table 8.6

Regression of "Mother's Perception of Target Child" on three Primary Network Non-Kin Variables with Socioeconomic Covariates in the model.

Overall Effects of the Independent Variables	Coefficient b	Prob
Education	.17	.004**
Income	.001	.90
Total Primary Non-Kin	.01	.93
Non-Kin Emotional Exchanges	.14	.42
Non-Kin Child-Related Exchanges	-.18	.16

Effects of Non-Kin Child-Related Exchanges		Coefficient b	Prob
By Smallest Subclasses[1]:			
N=13	$e_1p_1s_1$	-.15	.66
11	$e_1p_1s_2$	-.13	.83
44	$e_1p_2s_1$	.19	.47
46	$e_1p_2s_2$	-.001	.99
10	$e_2p_1s_1$	-2.06	.04*
9	$e_2p_1s_2$	.10	.72
35	$e_2p_2s_1$	.07	.78
30	$e_2p_2s_2$	-.22	.31
Tests of Homogeneity of Regression:			
For Entire Sample:			
	e_1	-.02	.91
	e_2	-.33	.08#
(HR)[2](E)		2.02	.13
	p_1	-.36	.08#
	p_2	.01	.96
(HR)(P)		-2.28	.08#
	e_1p_1	-.14	.67
	e_1p_2	.09	.61
	e_2p_1	-.98	.06#
	e_2p_2	-.08	.73
(HR)(EP)		1.34	.31
	s_1	-.49	.11
	s_2	-.06	:75
(HR)(S)		-1.69	.20
	e_1s_1	.02	.94
	e_1s_2	-.06	.84
	e_2s_1	-.99	.06#
	e_2s_2	-.06	.78
(HR)(ES)		2.02	.12
	p_1s_1	-1.11	.04*
	p_1s_2	-.02	.96
	p_2s_1	.13	.52
	p_2s_2	-.11	.60
(HR)(PS)		-2.66	.04*
(HR)(EPS)		2.24	.09#
For Two Parents Only:			
	e_1	.09	.61
	e_2	-.08	.74
(HR)(E)		.34	.67
	s_1	.13	.52
	s_2	-.11	.60
(HR)(S)		.49	.30
(HR)(ES)		-.11	.83
For One Parent Only:			
	e_1	-.14	.68
	e_2	-.98	.06#
(HR)(E)		1.68	.18
	s_1	-1.11	.04*
	s_2	-.02	.96
(HR)(S)		-2.18	.08#
(HR)(ES)		2.13	.08#

[1] E = Ethnicity (1 = non-ethnic, 2 = ethnic)
P = Family Structure (1 = one parent, 2 = two parents)
S = Sex of Target Child (1 = boy, 2 = girl)

# indicates $p \leq .10$
* indicates $p \leq .05$
** indicates $p \leq .01$

[2] (HR) denotes the test of the homogeneity of regression within levels of the effects indicated.

Summary

The place to begin in summarizing what has been learned from these analyses of the relationships between mothers' primary networks and their perceptions of their children is that educational background plays an important role in those perceptions regardless of the character and workings of the primary network. A second important finding is that, whereas the effect of the network on perception of self as parent was confined to single parents, now with the shift in focus to the child, some significant effects appear for married mothers as well. These effects are stronger for married mothers with ethnic backgrounds than for non-ethnics. The third generalization that appears warranted is that relatives play a stronger role than non-relatives in mothers' perceptions of the child, whereas with perception of self as parent, it is the non-kin for whom there is a somewhat stronger effect. Finally, it is clear here, as with perception of self as parent, that availability of child-related assistance bears quite a different relationship to maternal perceptions than does emotional support.

The Relationship of Primary Network to Mothers' Perceptions of Their Spouses

Because the focus here is on the spouse, the sample for these analyses was limited to married mothers. Again, models both including and excluding the two demographic variables were analyzed. Family income proved to have a marginally significant, positive effect on perception of the spouse in both the kin and the non-kin models, and the same was true for mother's education in the case of the kin model. While significant in themselves, these demographic variables have very little effect on the relationships between the network variables and perceptions of the spouse.

No tables are presented in this section because our analyses indicate that there is essentially no clear relationship between aspects of the primary network and mothers' perceptions of their husbands. There is some indication that more child-related exchanges with non-kin increase positive attitudes toward the spouse, but only for ethnics discussing their sons. And while the data do suggest a weakly positive relationship between emotional support from relatives and view of the spouse, the major finding is the absence of significant results. This is interesting in the light of the relationships found for the same mothers between support from the same network members and perceptions of the child. Feedback from these most intimate of network members apparently influences the way mothers view their children, but is much less of a factor in how they view their husbands. Or is it the other way around? Is it the positive or negative view of the child that guides how mothers organize and utilize their networks? This question of causality is one of the issues discussed in the final section of this chapter.

The Primary Social Network and Mothers' Perceptions

A useful way to begin the last section of the chapter is to look back at Figure 8.1. Through the analyses in this chapter, we have confirmed links between relations with primary network members and mothers' perceptions of themselves as parents. The link between the primary network and the mother's view of the child has also been tentatively established, but our preliminary efforts in building predictive models have not yet found strong relationships with the mother's view of her spouse. We have also identified some effects of key demographic variables on perceptions of family members, which still hold after adjustment for variations in primary networks.

This final section is organized around three issues. First, what can we learn from differences and similarities in the way these three maternal perceptions are related to the primary network? This comparison will take into consideration differences in marital status and ethnic background, as well as the distinction between kin and non-kin members of the primary network. The second issue is that of causality: does anything that we have learned so far lend itself better to confirming one direction of causality than to another. Finally, we will address the issue of what the next steps in this line of analysis should be.

Intrafamilial Perceptions

Why is it that for single mothers it is their view of themselves as parents that is related to the size and functioning of the primary network, while for married mothers, the link is to perceptions of their children? Is there an explanation that might also recognize the absence of relationships between primary network and perception of spouse? As a hypothesis-generating exercise, we begin by suggesting that single mothers feel the need for network support more acutely on a day-to-day basis than do married mothers because they are without adult companionship in the home on a regular basis. They are also raising their children alone and therefore need child-related assistance, but first and foremost are their own personal-social needs. Married mothers also have the need for social support from adults, but some of that need is surely fulfilled by their husbands. Thus married mothers are more likely to view the network as primarily for use in addressing needs arising from the presence of the child, and less likely to associate it with their feelings about themselves.

There is something about an ethnic background that seems to enhance the positive relationship between married mothers' views of their children and the resources available from their primary networks. Most of these network members are close relatives who have a strong sense of family and community and provide a solid base of unconditional support to young mothers. They may also meddle, which would explain why there are some negative relationships associated with the provision of child-related as opposed to emotional support. The intensity of these relationships, seen strongly between ethnic mothers and the members of their primary networks, may well be attenuated somewhat in the non-ethnic situation.

While the child as a topic of conversation and disagreement is not only appropriate but encouraged between the mother and her close relatives and friends, such exchange in relation to the spouse is fraught with tension and social risk. In that light, it is not surprising that primary network resources have no general bearing on mothers' perceptions of their husbands. One would, however, expect an inverse relationship to exist between amount of spouse involvement in family affairs and use of network resources, especially for childcare. The search for such a relationship will be a part of upcoming analyses.

The Question of Causality

Do mothers' views of themselves and their children influence how they use their primary networks, or is it the nature of available network resources that in part determines how they view themselves and others? We cannot resolve the eternally difficult question of causality with the data at hand, but again some thoughts for discussion will be useful as the starting point for further analysis. Important at the outset is the reminder that it is the primary network with which we have been working in these analyses; this is a small subset of the total network, and it is selected by the mothers themselves as of special importance.

One conclusion drawn for Chapter 7 was that the balance of kin and non-kin in the primary network is quite different for single and married mothers; non-relatives make up nearly half of the primary network membership for single mothers, but less than a quarter for married ones. We suggest as a working hypothesis that such a difference is a product of differing needs in those two groups of mothers; that is, the curcumstances of single parenthood dictate a need for social relations with adults who are not related. Might those circumstances not also place heavy demands on a mother's perception of herself as a parent, since she bears much of that responsibility alone? Her feelings about herself may, in turn, increase or decrease the probability that she will reach out for contact with relatives and friends, thus determining the size and composition of her primary network.

Does a mother initiate and maintain contact with friends and relatives because she has confidence, or because she is feeling needs based on inadequacy? Much of what we have been doing in the Family Matters program has been based on the former premise: an enhanced self-image, especially in relation to parenting, leads to growth of social activities and exchanges with adults. The data presented in this chapter do not contradict this view of the relationship between self-perceptions and social relations. Positive perceptions are associated with an increase in social relations. But which comes first? It is a question that we should be able to answer by examining changes over time in the networks of mothers heavily involved in the home-visiting portion of the Family Matters program. There we have concentrated on enhancement of the mother's view of herself as a parent. If we find evidence of such a positive change, and it is accompanied by increased network activity, then we can argue quite convincingly that a positive sense of self is a prerequisite to heavy participation in exchanges with relatives and friends at the primary network level.

Next Steps

Further steps in the analysis of linkages between social network characteristics and parental perceptions will draw heavily on the results of the model-building process outlined at the end of Chapter 7. Developments and refinements of the basic explanatory model for kin and non-kin variables at both the primary and functional levels of the network will be incorporated into our cross-theme analyses. The continuing goal of these analyses is to add to our understanding of the ways in which network characteristics, both structural and relational, mediate between the external world of social-structural forces, and the more immediate context in which development takes place: the family. Throughout future analyses, we will continue to ask if network characteristics have differential effects on perceptions of intrafamilial and external aspects of the parent's life depending upon the social context in which she or he is located.

Perception of oneself and of other family members, and the informal support provided by relatives and friends, combine with other external forces and with existing patterns of parent-child activity to produce the ecologies into which we have ventured with the Family Matters program. In the final chapter of this report, the implications of our baseline findings for the implementation of our parental empowerment program are discussed in some detail.

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CHAPTER 9

IMPLICATIONS FOR PROGRAM EVALUATION

Moncrieff M. Cochran

The reader of this report has, by now, been introduced to the more than 209 white families in our study from a variety of perspectives. The ten program neighborhoods have been profiled, and a close look taken at the families living within them. Part- and full-time work for pay have been scrutinized for their contributions to the supports and stresses experienced by married mothers. The relatives, neighbors, and friends who make up the social networks of mothers have been examined in some detail for an understanding of the roles they play in family life, and the processes through which they influence and are influenced by mothers' perceptions of self and family members. These perceptions by the mothers of themselves as parents, of their children, and of their husbands have been explored in relation to their marital and working status and their ethnic backgrounds, yielding for married mothers the unexpected finding that ethnic background has associated with it an especially positive view of the boy child, and non-ethnic heritage the girl.

It has undoubtedly been easy for the reader to lose sight of the fact that all these analytic initiatives have been in the name of the intervention program. Yet evaluation of our parental empowerment effort is the principal purpose for which the National Institute of Education supported the Family Matters Project, and so it is appropriate that we use the intervention program as the context within which to summarize our findings.

In order to properly understand how the worlds surrounding these urban families, and mothers' perceptions of what is both inside and outside their families, might affect and be affected by the intervention effort, one must have a clear understanding of the developmental framework underlying the program itself. This framework, and the beliefs out of which it has evolved, are detailed elsewhere (Cochran and Woolever, Note 1; Cochran, Note 2). By way of summary, it can be said that the framework emphasizes adult development as the vehicle for the development of the child. Central to this aspect of adult development is the perception by the parent that she or he is important and worthwhile. For that reason, we have worked hard in home visits and neighborhood cluster groupings to enhance parents' perceptions of themselves as parents, and of their capacity to deal effectively with the external environment. There has also been an emphasis on activities which would increase parents' perceptions of the child as interesting, cooperative and capable. If these perceptions of self as parent and of child are a primary target of the intervention, then of course it is essential that we understand in detail what perceptions our parents brought with them to the program experience, in order that we might be able to anticipate the impacts that participation might have had on different segments of the participant sample.

The purpose of enhancing parents' perceptions of themselves and of their children has been to increase the involvement of those parents in the activities of their children, and in so doing to enhance each child's ability to engage successfully in activities both inside and outside the home. For that reason, we have devoted a portion of data collection and analysis to understanding the relationships between parents' perceptions of their children and the activities they report themselves as engaged in with them. We are realistic enough to believe, however, that sheer enthusiasm for parenting and desire to manage the outside world on behalf of the child is not enough, that the world beyond the family must make some accommodation to the childrearing process if parents are to succeed with their children. For that reason many of our analyses have focused on those external contexts: the neighborhood, the world of work, the social network of relatives and friends. In a modest way the intervention program also addressed those external contexts, in particular some aspects of the neighborhood and neighboring networks.

In the discussion which follows, the external contexts affecting program implementation and impact are treated first, beginning with the program neighborhoods and then proceeding to paid work and social networks. These are followed by consideration of perceptions focused inside the family--the mother's view of herself as a parent and of her child--as they might affect implementation of the Family Matters program. The chapter concludes with a profile of the struggle engaged in by single mothers as they raise their children in an indifferent and sometimes hostile world.

The parental empowerment program developed by Family Matters has employed two basic strategies for involving families in parent and child-related activities: home visiting and neighborhood cluster building. These two approaches will serve as reference points for the discussion of program implications.*

The Neighborhoods

The central theme arising from Heather Weiss' analysis of the ten program neighborhoods derives from her use of Suttles' defended-neighborhood concept: that the physical, social and ecological characteristics of the low resource neighborhoods (LBJ, Tallman-South, Lexington-East Fayette) combine to significantly restrict the geographic and social range of the families living within them. Geographically, the parks and other public areas are available but functionally inaccessible; broken glass and heavy use by unfriendly teenagers eliminate those areas as contexts for parent-child activities, and force families to remain in small, rented apartments which rarely include any safe outdoor play space. These neighborhoods are perceived by Project parents as unsafe to walk through, especially at night, and those perceptions are backed by crime statistics. Length of residence in the low resource neighborhoods tends to be short, and other neighborhood residents are perceived of by our parents as unlike themselves.

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*The reader is reminded that the analyses in the foregoing chapters have not included Black families, and that therefore this discussion of implications for program effectiveness cannot include that important part of the Syracuse sample. Dr. William Cross is in the process of completing a final report focused on Black families in the Family Matters Project for the Administration for Children, Youth, and Families, which will serve as the basis for hypothesizing what sorts of effects program involvement might have had on Black Project Families.

Enough residents in these neighborhoods are involved with public agencies of one sort or another so that visible, unexplained participation in the Family Matters program may have attached to it the stigma associated with deficit oriented "public assistance".

It is not difficult to anticipate the consequences of life in one of these low resource neighborhoods for program implementation and impact. Home visitors will be greeted with great caution, and trust-building will be a long, slow process. Once trust is established, and parents become convinced that the worker believes in them, whatever desire there may be to increase joint activity with the child will be seriously restricted by close quarters in the home and no safe parks within walking distance. Cluster-building with neighbors will not be possible before trust with the Family Matters worker is well established, as there will be much suspicion to be overcome. Once neighborhood contacts have been established, maintenance of them will be made difficult, especially for single mothers, by the dangers associated with walking in the neighborhood or meeting in the park. Generally speaking, then, what we have learned about the low resource neighborhoods can be used to argue persuasively that these neighborhoods will be distinguished from the seven others by the difficulty program workers will have in establishing trust with parents and in being able to provide useful information and support to them over a sustained period. Of the two strategies available to program workers, one would expect the home-visiting approach to be the more successful one under conditions as conducive to defensive withdrawal as those described by these parents.

The shift from low to moderate income brings with it some real benefits at the neighborhood level, if one can generalize from our sample. In Eastwood North and Nedrow, unlike in the three low income neighborhoods, there is substantial agreement that space is available for activities with the children and that neighbors are generally friendly and even helpful. Fears associated with crime and broken glass are gone. It is clear that those poverty-related forces, which must have a dampening impact on any intervention effort, are not present. What seems to emerge in the neighborhoods whose residents are unshackled from the confines of poverty is diversity, not necessarily within the neighborhoods but between them. While Eastwood North and Nedrow both have families who are living somewhat above subsistence, they are different in many other ways. Eastwood North, located close to the city center, consists primarily of small houses built very close together, rented or owned by strongly ethnic families. Nedrow is a suburban village, isolated from city services, where families without strong ethnic ties live in their own homes (90% owner-occupied). There is good reason to believe that these differences would affect the way a parental empowerment program is received in the two neighborhoods. One would expect Eastwood parents to move cautiously, needing to understand that Family Matters is not a "welfare" program and wanting some approval from relatives and friends before becoming too involved. Home visiting would appear to be a comfortable alternative, with ethnic ties possibly making the clustering option somewhat superfluous. In Nedrow, however, the absence of closely knit ethnic ties and a paucity of urban social activities and services might combine to stimulate interest and receptivity toward paraprofessionals interested in young children and their parents. Positive comments made by the parents in that neighborhood about their neighbors suggest that a program which brought families together in clusters might be welcomed.

The other five program neighborhoods in the sample have in common middle income families, and the stability that those economic resources can insure. Families seem to share an enthusiasm for their living areas and an appreciation for the way neighbors support each other and keep an eye on the children. Again, however, this secure economic foundation has spawned real diversity. Liverpool, the "New England" suburb, differs markedly from the Irish and Polish Tipperary Hill or the predominantly Italian Schiller-Wadsworth, two city residential neighborhoods. Westcott-Thornden and Salt Springs, also city residential areas, are racially integrated and very heterogeneous in social character and life style, making them quite different from either their ethnic or their suburban counterparts. Again, one would expect these differences to be reflected in how the Family Matters program is received, and the way that it affects families in the five neighborhoods. Liverpool residents, who are reasonably well off financially and living in a self-contained community with its own distinctive character, might be tolerant of programmatic efforts without really coming to grips with its assumptions and goals. In the strongly ethnic neighborhoods, one would expect a certain wariness about the inherently intrusive nature of the program, but a multiplier effect in those cases where acceptance was gained. Home visiting might be seen as welcome contact with views from beyond the ethnic island, and clustering either unnecessary or a natural extension of networking already underway. In Schiller-Wadsworth, the strongly patriarcal family arrangements and continued use of another language (Italian) might combine to inhibit mothers from participating actively. Certainly neighborhood clustering attempts that crossed social boundaries already established in the neighborhood would meet with considerable resistance. The racial and economic diversity characterizing Westcott-Thorndon and Salt Springs might well lend itself to the home-visiting approach but mitigate against neighborhood clusters, unless pressing neighborhood-wide issues could be found to serve as a unifying force.

One would have to conclude from our analysis of program neighborhoods that the only melting-pot brewing in Syracuse is poverty. The absence of resources serves to bring a certain sameness of character to our low-income neighborhoods. Once the safety net provided by moderate income is available, however, it is the differences among neighborhoods, rather than their similarities, which come to the fore.

Work Outside the Home

Mothers working outside the home carefully select jobs the timing of which will accommodate the needs of the family as they perceive them. This is the major finding documented by

Heather Weiss in the chapter on work. For a number of married couples, the task of fitting employment together with parenthood is viewed as including child care provided by the parents themselves. The kinds of employment which make it possible for both parents to hold jobs, and yet one be at home throughout the day (shift work, weekend work), leave them very little time together as a couple or as a total family. What might these complicated schedules mean for an intervention program designed to encourage and reinforce parent-child activities and the sharing of parenting responsibility between husband and wife?

Three perspectives seem relevant, two of which would compete with program effectiveness and a third which might point the way to information valued by parents. The starting point must be with what Heather Weiss refers to as the principal cost associated with the work schedules of couples in which both parents are working, especially if they work full-time: the pressure associated with a lack of time. If the Family Matters program is perceived as requiring time which is already in very short supply, then those families will need to be convinced that the program can provide them with something very useful before they will be willing to part with such a precious commodity. To the extent that the program requires, or even implies the importance of, both parents together, it is likely to antagonize those for whom work schedules make such an arrangement impossible. Such an expectation would be more apt to emanate from the cluster grouping than the home visiting approach. Home visiting is also more easily adapted to scheduling problems than is clustering, because it does not need to accommodate the schedules of four or five families simultaneously.

A second potentially negative consequence of the Family Matters program for working parents is psychological: the possible guilt created in those parents who feel that the program expects them to spend time with their children which is not permitted by the current work arrangement. This danger is reduced for the couples in our sample by the special effort many of them have been made to select work arrangements which permit one of them to be with the child at all times. In the case of single mothers, however, the danger is especially great. Again, the capacity of program operations to accommodate the schedules of working parents is crucial. One way to be facilitating in that regard has been through provision of child care arrangements at cluster meetings, so those meetings can accept parents and children together rather than becoming another time when the parents must leave the child in order to participate.

It is apparent from our analyses that designing a daily routine which makes possible both satisfying parenting and employment outside the home for both parents requires great skill and perseverance. Two kinds of support might be useful to such parents: emotional support from understanding others, and good ideas about how to make the best possible use of available resources. Family Matters could be useful to parents, married or single, who are working long hours outside the home, by providing these kinds of support, through either home visits or neighborhoods clusters.

Personal Social Networks

The most dominant finding in Chapter 7 was that the network world of single mothers is sharply different from that of married women. For that reason, the networks of single and married mothers will be discussed separately in relation to the intervention program. This distinction is made in anticipation of the final section in this last chapter, which integrates various threads from the rest of the report on behalf of understanding how single mothers will respond to Family Matters' offerings.

Married Mothers

A quick review of findings related to the personal social networks of married mothers yields the following facts: 1) less family income is associated with smaller networks; 2) a strong ethnic background seems to compensate for low income, increasing the size of networks in poor families; 3) kin-folk predominate in the networks of married mothers, although this situation is attenuated by increase in family income; 4) work outside the home increases the size of mothers' networks at every income level; and 5) as the number of neighbors and workmates in mothers' networks increases, so does frequency of contact with them. Several aspects of these findings are pertinent to an understanding of how the Family Matters program might be received by married mothers. First, it is clear that several features of the "natural" society contribute to increases in network size, especially if one is poor: embeddedness in a strongly ethnic family and working outside the home. To the extent that participation in the intervention program, and especially in the clustering portion of it, could be expected to expand parents' social reference groups, these natural social forces might compete with the attraction of that aspect of Family Matters. The hypothesis is, then, that the networks of married mothers from strong ethnic backgrounds and those working outside the home will be less affected by program participation than will those of non-ethnic housewives. Second, it appears that the "luxury" of maintaining a greater proportion of single-stranded non-kin in the network comes with increase in family income. Therefore it seems reasonable to predict that the "network-building" potential in program participation will be the greatest for non-ethnic middle income mothers who are not employed outside the home.

There is much more to Family Matters than cluster-building, with its attendent potential for affecting personal networks. The home visitor may be particularly attractive to mothers whose capacity to sustain network relationships is already heavily taxed. Such a person can provide many of the assets without the liabilities of a multi-stranded network member, and can be flexible enough to accommodate the demands of tight schedules or the particular expectations of different ethnic groups.

Single Mothers

Like most single mothers nationwide, those in our sample tend to be living in or close to poverty. The demands associated with running a household and raising one or more children alone are great. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that these mothers have larger networks than do married mothers at the same income level. The networks of single mothers are also more multistranded in their exchange patterns than those of their married counterparts, and include a much higher proportion of non-kin. There is some indication that their view of themselves in more affected by "difficult" contacts in their networks than is the case with married mothers, perhaps because their reliance upon network support is more pronounced.

Other things being equal, one would expect the Family Matters program to be especially appealing to single parents. The program provides a sympathetic non-relative as home visitor, who makes a few demands and can provide a variety of kinds of information about children, parenting and community resources. Cluster groupings are availabe as a means to meeting non-relatives in the neighborhood, a need heightened by the fact that single mothers are often living in neighborhoods are relatively new residents. In fact, other things are not equal. As we point out at the end of this chapter, a number of constraints combine to discourage single mothers from neighboring. At the same time, the demands they face are a strong incentive to become involved with the program in one way or another. For that reason we expect to find that single mothers have been the most active users of program resources over time, and that their children have received the most benefit from program participation.

Mothers and Children: Perceptions and Activities

As pointed out at the beginning of this chapter, intervention by Family Matters workers is aimed primarily at enhancing parents' perceptions of themselves and their children, on the assumption that that changes in these attitudes will lead in turn to more activities with and on behalf of their children. With this central purpose in mind, it becomes obvious that prediction of program impact depends on a clear understanding of parental perceptions prior to introduction of the program. The analyses and interpretations in Chapters 3 and 4 by Urie Bronfenbrenner and Charles Henderson are illuminating in that regard. While a number of the findings related to single parents are being reserved for a separate report, it is apparent already that those mothers paint a more negative picture of their children than do the married mothers. This exhaustive series of analyses has led the authors to the conclusion that parent-child interaction is most likely to produce desired results when it occurs in a context that accords status and value to the roles of both participants. The findings leading to this conclusion involve the positive value placed on boys in ethnic families, and girls in nonethnic ones, and the way those positive perceptions by mothers are enhanced by positive work experiences outside the home, especially if the subculture supports mothers in the wage-earning role.

Just how the program will affect perceptions so conditioned by ethnicity and work status is difficult to predict. Certainly program workers have been unusually sensitive to ethnic and cultural variations. This has not, however, included bias in favor of children of one sex or another, depending on ethnic background. Perhaps, then, the effect of support for the parenting role will be to reduce ethnic and working status differences by providing a lift for mothers in these niches where less status and value have been previously available to them.

The finding that parent-child activity leads to positive perceptions of the child only after that activity reaches a critical level of intensity has important ramifications for program evaluation. We have had no good way to tell whether there is a relationship between intensity of participation by the parent in program activities and the intensity of activities with the target child. Should such a relationship exist, and assuming that a higher level of parent-child activity and positive perceptions of the child lead to greater success by the child in school, then it becomes important to distinguish high- from lower-intensity participation in the program as we compare program with non-program families and examine changes occurring between baseline and follow-up. The data needed to distinguish families heavily involved in Family Matters from those involved less intensively have been carefully compiled, and will be prepared for analysis during the fall, 1981.

Single Mothers

A fundamental question for the ecology of human development is how much the developing individual can control the environment within which that development is taking place. Is development simply channeled by external forces beyond the control of the individual? Or do the needs perceived by the developing person act as motivating forces which lead to active manipulation of the environment? The data in this report suggest that the answer to both those questions is "yes". Yes, socioeconomic forces channel low income families into a limited number of low-resource, low-status neighborhood, where they maintain personal networks of limited size and scope and raise their children in an environment benign at best, and often hostile. And yes, within the constraints imposed by low income and a lack of educational opportunity, there are signs that parents respond to their own needs as they perceive them by actively molding the environment to relieve stress. Heather Weiss has described in Chapter 5 the lengths to which parents in two-parent families will stretch in order to maintain two wage-earners in the family while at the same time caring for their children themselves in their own homes. A still more dramatic example, however, is provided by the single mothers in our sample. While analyses of the data provided us by white, single mothers has not progressed quite as far as those using data from married mothers, what material we have examined suggests that mothers raising their children alone are engaged in a continuing struggle to alter the ecologies surrounding them in ways that meet their particular needs. Although forced by the lack of resources to live often in substandard housing, usually in neighborhoods characterized by deteriorating facilities and high crime rates, these women maintain larger social networks than their married counterparts, and are more likely than married mothers to engage in network relationships which are multifunctional in content. Cut off from the kin network somewhat by the absence of the father and, perhaps, by the stigma associated with single motherhood, they compensate by maintaining regular and sustained contact and exchange with a relatively large set of unrelated neighbors, workmates, and other friends. Although usually so poor that they cannot afford the capital investment needed to buy their way into middle resource neighborhoods, a number of the single mothers in our sample have established their families in subsidized niches within the neighborhoods of home-owning families, and have busily tied themselves into informal support networks already in operation in those apartment complexes. This constant struggle to maintain a family and raise a healthy child in uncaring and even hostile economic and social circumstances is remarkable for its courage and tenacity. The Family Matters program was designed to make this struggle a little bit easier for all participating families. Single mothers should have found our services particularly useful. Whether they in fact did is a story which only they can tell. We eagerly await their verdict.

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CONTEXTS FOR CHILDREARING:

THE ECOLOGY OF FAMILY LIFE
IN SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

VOLUME 2: APPENDICES

A Final Report to the National
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The Comparative Ecology of
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Cornell University
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APPENDIX 6.1

THE SELECTION PROCESS

NEIGHBORHOOD APPENDIX I: THE SELECTION PROCESS

Heather Weiss

From the outset, the Comparative Ecology Project has been designed both to understand and to effect some of the ways in which a family's physical and social context influences its capacity to operate as a child rearing system. One of the key contexts, influencing the child both directly and indirectly, is the neighborhood. Therefore, rather than simply drawing a random selection of 300 families with three-year-olds, the Project chose to study the effect of neighborhood context on development by first selecting a variety of types of neighborhoods and then sampling families within them. This design allows the examination of some of the ways in which the neighborhood, as both physical and social entity, influences the child's development.

The field site chosen for the study is Syracuse, an upstate New York city of approximately 197,000 people. The city has a decidely ethnic flavor, visually evident in Irish bars, Polish clubs, and Russian Orthodox churches. It has a long history of attracting various immigrant groups. During the 19th century, Syracuse was the leading salt-producing area in the nation and attracted numerous immigrants from Ireland, Germany, Italy, and Poland to work in the mines. Throughout the second half of the 19th century, and into the twentieth, these groups settled in various parts of the city. Currently, although "the homogeneity and clear identity of these nationality neighborhoods have been somewhat dissipated by time, assimilation, and the barrier to new immigrants....the areas persist and retain distinctive cultural characteristics" (Martin, Munger, Bunkhead, et al., 1961, page 25). The 1970 U.S. Census indicates that 26.5 percent of the total population consisted of foreign-born or first-generation Americans. Over time, the city proper has evolved from a set of independent and sometimes rival towns and villages, each with its own economic base (Hall, Note 3). However, one set of political analysts has concluded that contemporary Syracuse is a community in which the separate parts relate more to outside extra-community forces than they do to each other (Frederickson and O'Leary, 1973). As an urban research site, Syracuse provides a wide variety of neighborhoods distinguished by a similarly wide variety of factors.

The choice of particular neighborhoods for the present study involved a complex set of procedures begun in the fall of 1977. The initial work addressed the question of just what constitutes a neighborhood. As those who study neighborhoods almost universally recognize, there is no precise definition of what a neighborhood is, although most recognize that neighborhoods have social as well as geographical characteristics (Keller, 1968, Hojnacki, 1979). In her extensive review of the literature on urban neighborhoods, Keller (1968), for example, found that neighborhood was an ambiguous term, but that the concept seemed to have some combination of four elements:

> Essentially, ... (neighborhood) refers to distinctive areas into which larger spatial units may be sub-divided.....the distinctiveness of these areas stems from different sources whose independent contributions are difficult to assess: geographical boundaries, ethnic or cultural characteristics of the inhabitants, psychological unity

> among people who feel that they belong together, or concentrated use of an area's facilities for shopping, leisure, and learning (pg. 89).

One of the factors that makes neighborhood delineation especially problematic is that, frequently, geographic and subjectively defined boundaries do not coincide. Some neighborhoods are easily identified by geographic isolation, compatible and homogeneous residents, or historical tradition. Others have few, if any, such easily identifiable markers. This has led many who study neighborhoods to conclude that a self-definitional approach is an important starting point in the process of neighborhood delineation (Hojnacki, 1979; Regnier, 1976). Simply put, "a neighborhood is what the people who are there say is a neighborhood" (Berger and Neuhaus, 1977, page 9). The Comparative Ecology Project's neighborhood selection strategy took this subjective element into account from the outset.

The task of neighborhood selection, as one of its executors noted, required a process that balanced somewhat conflicting interests:

> identifying the 'natural' or widely-recognized designations of distinct socio-geographic neighborhoods, while at the same time, meeting the scientific needs of the project in the course of neighborhood identification (Hawkins, Note 4, p. 4).

The latter included the need to have an adequate demographic distribution of families for statistical analyses. (A detailed description of the necessary distributions and their statistical rationale is presented in Henderson, Note 5.) Specifically, the statistical design first required the designation of neighborhoods large enough to contain a sufficient number of families with three-year-old children. According to the research design, these families were to be sampled, where possible, equally from the groups defined by marital status, sex of child, and race. Therefore, a simultaneous and two-fold procedure was used to select neighborhoods; it involved the analysis of census and other data, and the collection and analysis of field data through systematic neighborhood observations.

One of the Project's chief souces of information about Syracuse neighborhoods was the 1970 U.S. Census. A number of census tract figures were important in neighborhood definition and selection, including: median income, mean income, percentages of families with incomes at various levels above and below poverty standard, percentage of Black families, number and percentage of female heads of household with children under 18, automobile available per household, percentage of foreign-born, median years of school for residents over 25, occupational characteristics and unemployment percentages, average rent and the mean poverty value of households in each tract. This information was plotted onto city maps by census tracts and, later, by designated neighborhoods. The above combination of census data provided information in three realms useful for the selection of project neighborhoods: the availability of economic resources and racial and ethnic composition. Areas were then designated by socio-economic (low, moderate, middle, middle-upper, upper-middle), racial (Black, white, racially mixed), and ethnic (ethnic, non-ethnic) status.

The census data, however, had two drawbacks. First, by 1978, the data were verging on obsolescence, particularly with regard to neighborhood racial composition. Therefore, census data on race was supplemented by the informed judgments of Syracuse-based staff members and knowledgeable community professionals, including people from the local community planning agency. The second drawback of the census data was that in the wider county, as opposed to the city areas, the census tracts were not a reasonable approximation of the neighborhoods, so it was necessary to rely on other sources for county data. Consequently, the Project consulted more recent sources of information which had been collected by the Syracuse-Onondaga Community Planning Agency, particularly in the areas of income and housing conditions (Hawkins, Note 4). All of this information enabled the staff to plot the socio-economic, racial, and ethnic characteristics of the city and county by census tract.

Meanwhile, a team of observers was in the field beginning observational assessments, based on some of the initial census delineations. In reviewing the selection process after it was completed, one staff member wrote that when the census and observational assessments "are undertaken in a staggered but simultaneous procedure (with some document data collection preceding the observations, to help focus and guide the latter), volunteers (are) most helpful in validating or building neighborhood boundaries and socio-geographical profiles of each area."

The volunteers, primarily young mothers, donated their time, knowledge of mothering, and street-sense of the city and county to conduct an extensive series of observations. During the fall of 1977, they walked and drove around, "charting tentative boundaries, noting physical landmarks and constructing boundaries and important centers of activity" (Note 4, p. 13). They also talked with shop owners and residents. In order to record data, a special Neighborhood Characteristics Observation Form was designed. It included a map demarcating local school, street, and natural boundaries, important physical features, and space to describe the characteristics of people observed. The observational data proved to be an important supplement to the census and planning agency information; in several cases, the observational evidence pointed to boundaries drawn inappropriately (Note 4, p. 14). A large number of the eventual neighborhood candidates in the city were identified through this observational procedure.

As neighborhood candidates began to emerge, the issue of balancing "natural" neighborhood boundaries and of obtaining varied neighborhoods with enough families with the characteristics specified in the research design was resolved. The selection team decided to focus the next series of observations on city and county elementary schools as the "focal points around which we would most likely find the highest concentration of families with young children" (Note 4, p. 14). Project staff analyzers argued that while most families might not describe their neighborhood as the two- or three-mile perimeter around a given school, this area would be likely to yield a sufficient number of appropriate families. The school-based strategy was also seen as taking into account an important local ecological influence -- the school and its associated support services (Note 4, p. 15). Consequently, during the spring of 1978, a second phase of field research began. "The basic strategy here was to plot every neighborhood school in the city and inspect and identify it as, or as not, an appropriate study neighborhood area" (Note 4, p. 15). Some of the resulting neighborhoods were roughly identical to census tracts; some were not.

In this fashion, the team attempted to combine the "natural" criteria and those required by the research design to designate neighborhood candidates. The result was thirty-two potential city neighborhoods and twenty-six potential county neighborhoods. The next part of the process required careful checking and categorization of these areas according to their socio-economic, racial, and ethnic characteristics, and the selection of neighborhoods which could be matched for purposes of the program-control evaluation design.

In the spring of 1978, the results of the selection team's work and the statistical sampling needs of the Cornell staff came together in decisions about neighborhood selection. It was clear from both points of view that race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status were key factors, and that they were combined in various ways in Syracuse neighborhoods. Ethnic considerations, for example, were very important in several of the city's moderate- and middle-income areas, but in other neighborhoods ethnicity was less of a factor due to the heterogeneity of the population. Once a table showing distributions of race, ethnicity, and socio-economic status by neighborhood had been completed, the selection team and the Cornell staff made several decisions about the final selection of neighborhoods from the list of 58 candidates:

1. To select neighborhoods grouped by combinations of income (low, moderate, middle), location (city, suburban), ethnicity (ethnic white or non-ethnic white) and race (Black, white, racially mixed).
2. Not to have a balance of city and county neighborhoods, which would reflect the actual population distribution but rather, to forego representativeness and to focus primarily on city middle- and lower-income areas.

3. Not to have contiguous neighborhoods in order to lessen the possibility of contamination of the control group by adjacent program groups.

4. To maintain randomness in the selection of the final neighborhoods, the names of all the potential neighborhoods were put into a hat, and all those which fell alone, in pairs or in threes in their cells, automatically qualified. (The remainder were determined by the order of the draw.)

5. To follow the lead of the project's Swedish colleagues and draw neighborhoods in such a way that they were likely to produce about twice as many families as needed. "This feature tends to make each project neighborhood larger than that which most parents in these areas would identify as 'my neighborhood' " (Note 4, p.2).

After the 10 program and control neighborhoods were selected, the search for families within them with three-year-old children began. This part of the effort began with a hand search of census and birth records to identify the total pool of eligible families from which project participants would be drawn. After the search of the records was complete and the staff attempted to locate the families, however, less than half of the families could be located living at addresses given in the records. The staff as a result had to conduct a door-to-door survey in each of the 18 neighborhoods in order to locate the entire pool of eligible families. The staff also conducted an extensive inquiry with the school system, day care centers, and private and public child welfare agencies to insure that the entire pool of neighborhood three-year-olds had been located. After each neighborhood pool was complete, a stratified random sampling technique was employed to draw approximately 16 families for each of the 18 neighborhoods yielding an eventual sample of 276 Project families. Within neighborhoods, the stratification factors were race, maternal marital status, and sex of child.

Individual family income was not a stratification factor. The Project decided to focus on neighborhoods with primarily middle- to lower-income families, there are, however, some higher-income families in the sample. This simply reflects the fact that higher-income families sometimes live in middle- to moderate-income neighborhoods. In order to have a sufficient sample of Black and single-parent families for analysis, these two groups were over-sampled. Some neighborhoods, as initially drawn, simply did not contain the necessary distribution of families for the research design. Consequently, later redrawing of some neighborhood boundaries was necessary. In the LBJ neighborhood, for example, the boundaries were redrawn to include a white single mother. Map A (at the end of this appendix) shows the way in which the ten program and eight control neighborhoods were distributed in and around the city of Syracuse. Table 1 below shows how different types of families are distributed within and across 18 neighborhoods. The empty cells on the table illustrate two things about the intersection between the ecological realities of Syracuse and the demands of the research design. First, some neighborhood types are so infrequent that the Project could locate only one of them; Westcott-Thornden, a middle-income, urban, racially mixed neighborhood, and Salt Springs, a middle-income, urban, Black neighborhood are cases in point. They are the only representatives of their respective types in the Syracuse area. Therefore, as program neighborhoods, they do not have perfectly matched controls. The empty cell on the table secondly show that within neighborhoods, it was sometimes impossible to find enough families with three-year-olds to fit all the stratifying criteria for sample selection. In some cases, the reasons are self-evident: Eastwood-North, for example, is labeled a moderate- income, ethnic white, city neighborhood and, as such, one would not expect many Black families for the Black cells in the design. In other cases there are empty cells by chance; the lack of single-parent families with three-year-old girls in Tipperary Hill is an example. These empty cells do raise issues for statistical analyses. But as the Project statistician has pointed out, while sample distribution challenges the limits of known methodology, there are ways of dealing with the difficulties (Henderson, Note 5, pp. 11-16).

Reference Notes

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APPENDIX 6.2

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILES[*]

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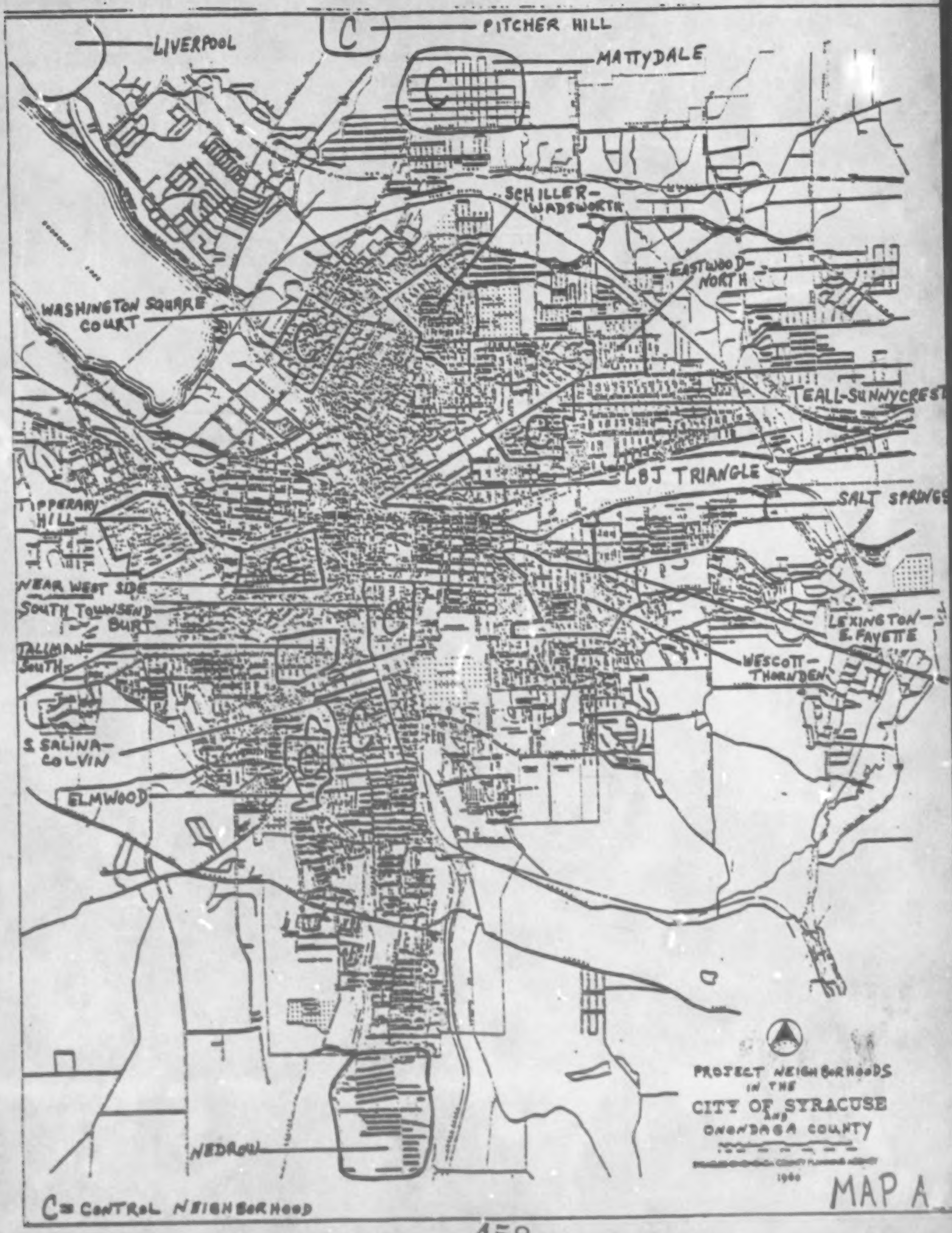
[*] These profiles of the Project's program neighborhoods were developed by Heather Weiss with the assistance of Betsy Edinger. Once the format was arranged, the observations and analyses of the neighborhoods were conducted by Artis Lee, Betsy Edinger and Maggie Baker. Demographic data and social networks material were compiled by Nancy Burston, Ann Bell, and Heather Weiss. Substantial editorial assistance was provided by Ann Pitkin. The help of the above is very much appreciated.


LIVERPOOL
C
PITCHER HILL
MATTYDALE
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SCHILLER-WADSWORTH
EASTWOOD-NORTH
WASHINGTON SQUARE COURT
C
TEALL-SUNNYCREST
C
LBJ TRIANGLE
TIPPERARY HILL
SALT SPRINGS
C
NEAR WEST SIDE
SOUTH TOWNSEND
BURT
C
LEXINGTON-E. FAYETTE
TALLMAN SOUTH
WESCOTT-THORNDEN
C
C
S. SALINA-COLVIN
ELMWOOD
NEDROW
PROJECT NEIGHBORHOODS IN THE CITY OF SYRACUSE AND ONONDAGA COUNTY
1966
MAP A
C = CONTROL NEIGHBORHOOD

LBJ:

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

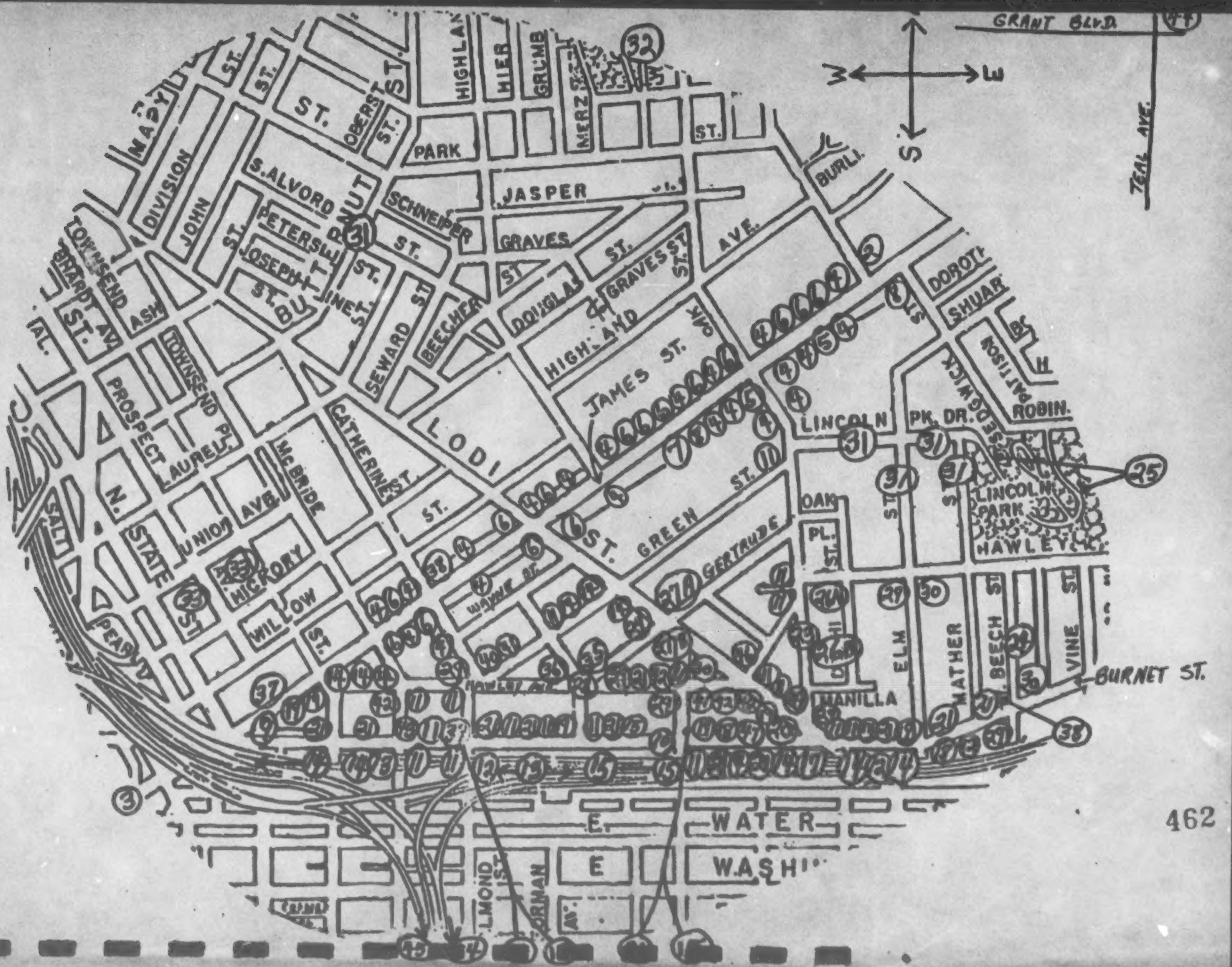
Betsy Edinger

Ann Pitkin

KEY: LBJ

1. Northern Boundary: James Street
2. Sedgewich Area: wealthy residential
3. downtown
4. offices
5. television studios
6. apartment buildings
7. private nursing home
8. motels
9. point of LBJ triangle closest to downtown: location of an old apartment house
10. Southern Boundary: Burnet Avenue
11. bars
12. warehouses
13. auto service
14. supply stores (auto and other small businesses)
15. vacant lots
16. interstate 690
17. discount houses
18. milk processing plant (Darilea)
19. small family restaurants
20. the Villa
21. pockets of housing
22. Lodi Street
23. Oak Street
24. Eastern Bounary: N. Beech St.
25. Lincoln Park
26. a) Dr. Weeks Elementary School
    b) Dr. Weeks playground
27. a) Clinton Elementary School
    b) Clinton Park
28. Hawley Avenue
29. small grocery stores
30. gas stations
31. housing that is in better condition than the norm
32. Schiller - Wadsworth Park
33. St. Joseph's Hospital
34. University-Hospital Area (3 hospitals)
35. NEHDA
36. Baptist Church
37. Episcopalian Church
38. Catholic Church
39. Church of the Living Word
40. drugstore
41. laundromat
42. small storefront businesses located along Hawley Ave., including: a vacuum sales and service shop, a rug & tile store; and a small gymnasium
43. bookstore known for "adult literature"
44. Shop City Mall
45. Chicago Market grocery store and shopping mall
46. Caroma's
47. seaford store

LBJ TRIANGLE



GRANT BLVD.
TEAL AVE.
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HIGHLAND
HIER
GRUMB
MERZ
PARK
ST.
MADY
DIVISION
JOHN
S. ALVORD
OBERST
BUTTERNUT
SCHNEIPER
JASPER
GRAVES
PETERS
JOSEPHINE
TOWNSEND
ASH
SEWARD ST.
BEECHER
DOUGLAS
GRAVES ST.
HIGHLAND
JAMES ST.
OAK
AVE.
BURLI
DOROT
SHUAR
PATTISON
SEDGWICK
ROBIN.
LINCOLN PK. DR.
LINCOLN PARK
HAWLEY
PROSPECT
LAUREL PL.
McBRIDE
CATHERINE ST.
LODI ST.
GREEN ST.
GERTRUDE
OAK PL.
N. STATE
UNION AVE.
HICKORY
WILLOW ST.
WAYNE ST.
HAWLEY ST.
SALT
PEARL
ELM
MATHER
BEECH ST.
VINE ST.
BURNET ST.
MANILLA
E. WATER
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LMOND ST.
ORMAN
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3

LBJ
Neighborhoood Profile *

Direct Observations

Boundaries

The boundaries of the Lodi, Burnet, James neighborhood basically form a triangle. James Street[1], the northern boundary is a major artery to the downtown area and is part of a local truck route that passes through the city. The northeastern edge of the neighborhood borders on one of the wealthiest residential areas[2] in the city of Syracuse. Travelling toward downtown[3] on James, the street quickly changes in character from residential to commerical. On both sides of the street are buildings that house office space[4] for insurance companies, banks, realty companies, and law firms. Two television studios[5] are also located along this stretch. People in this area live either in one of the high-rise apartment buildings[6] or in the private nursing home[7]. Two better quality motels[8] are located here as well. All of these businesses and living areas are in very good condition; lawns are landscaped and well manicured.

Where James Street meets Burnet Avenue[9], the neighborhood boundary forms one of its three points; this one is closest to the downtown area. Here, an old apartment house stands where many single, older men live either on public assistance or very low incomes. It is much more characteristic of the neighborhood as a whole than are the offices and other living areas along James Street.

Burnet Avenue[10], the southern boundary, is also a heavily-travelled, commercial street. The businesses here are of a different nature from those on James Street and the road is much narrower and in poorer condition. Numerous bars[11] are intermixed with warehouses[12], auto service[13] and supply stores[14], and occasional vacant lots[15] from which an interstate overpass[16] is clearly visible. Discount houses[17], parking lots, and a large milk processing plant[18] contribute to this commercial atmosphere. A few small family restaurants[19] and "The Villa,"[20] one of the city's finer Italian restaurants are mixed in with the other businesses. Occasionally, there small pockets of deteriorating houses[21]. Most of these houses are close to the road, thus limiting the size of the front

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*Eulas Boyd, Liz Keily, and Mary Maples all played an important part in the preparation of this profile.

yards. Behind these houses are parking lots, foundations of once standing buildings, old barrels, and abandoned trucks, giving the area the appearance of an unused wasteland. Occupancy is primarily indicated by Beware of Dog and No Trespassing signs.

The eastern side of the triangle was originally Lodi Street[22] which was extended to Oak Street[23]. But, unable to find enough families with young children for our sample, we extended the boundary further to N. Beech Street[24]. This is a residential side street similar in appearance to the less travelled streets within the LBJ triangle. One of the houses has a small upholstery business behind it, but there are no other signs of commercial activity. Families living between Beech and Oak streets appear to be living under the same economic and housing conditions as the rest of the neighborhood; and the children attend the same schools. However, there are some important differences. None of these streets run directly through to James Street, so that they have less traffic than many other streets in the neighborhood. People living here have access to Lincoln Park[25], the largest recreational area in the neighborhood, without having to cross any major streets. Finally, children do not have to cross busy streets to get to the elementary school[26a] or to the playground[26b] beside it.

Internal Boundaries

There are no apparent internal boundaries that demarcate changes in type or condition of housing, but most of the streets that run through the neighborhood carry a lot of traffic and restrict the mobility of many residents, especially young children. (Respondents defined their neighborhood in very different ways, often giving the street they lived on as the only boundary. No one could give the neighborhood a specific name, and people frequently complained of feeling isolated.)

Oak[22] and Lodi Streets[23] are the most heavily travelled of the streets going through the neighborhood. Both have more businesses than the other streets and traffic is faster moving because of fewer stop signs. On Lodi Street, the abandoned Clinton Elementary[27a] School stands. Its small playgound[27b] is the only recreational area readily available to people living within the original boundaries of the LBJ triangle. To get to other recreational areas one has to cross a major street. Since the playground at Dr. Weeks Elementary School[26b] is located on the eastern side of Oak Street, people living between Oak and Lodi Streets are separated from every playground in the area.

All of the streets running between Burnet, James, -- and Hawley Avenue[28] are hazardous to young children because they are so busy. Stop signs slow the cars, but frequently they fail to make a complete stop before proceeding through an intersection. More bars[11], small grocery stores[29], and gas stations[30] are found along these streets.

One family in our sample lived on Butternut Street[31], several blocks north of James Street. Although the housing and economic situation of this single-parent family is comparable to that of people living in the LBJ neighborhood, this is a totally different section. This family has access to different stores and services, and the elementary school is not within walking distance. This family, living closer to the heart of a predominantly Italian district, has contact with different people from those who live in the LBJ neighborhood.

Residential Areas

Most of the houses in this area look as if they had been built some time ago, and a variety of styles and types of houses can be seen on every street. The oldest houses are large and have distinctive ornamentation, such as hand carved doors or porches with unusual trimming. Frequently, these houses have been divided into apartments. Smaller, one family houses have been built between the larger ones, resulting in a much smaller space between houses than there was originally. This variation in style can be seen on every street. There are occasional old apartment buildings. Most streets in the neighborhood have some sort of business included among the houses. Businesses of one sort or another are dispersed throughout this neighborhood so that even residential streets include at least one commercial address.

Generally, the houses are in poor condition, needing paint and structural repairs. Sections of many houses are sagging badly. On some shingles, similar to those used for roofing, cover the original wooden facade. It is not uncommon to see houses without siding. Very few homes in this area have storm windows. Many windows are boarded up or covered with plastic. A few people have taped cardboard over holes in their windows.

There are some vacant and boarded up houses in the neighborhood, and several show signs of recent fires, but there is no apparent pattern in the location of these burned houses. For the most part, houses are occupied no matter what condition they are in. There are occasional For Rent and For Sale signs, but nothing to indicate that people are moving from the neighborhood in any great number.

Even though most of the housing is in poor condition, there are some exceptions. The area closest to downtown[9] is in the process of being restored. Those houses that have already been restored seem to be in perfect condition. A few single family homes near Lincoln Park[31], at the opposite end of the neighborhood, are in very good condition. These places often have more yard space and are better kept than most of the other houses. On some of the other streets, one or two houses are outstanding because they are so well-maintained.

A typical front yard in this neighborhood is small. Backyards often adjoin, creating a large area where the backs of houses on the next block could be seen. Attempts at fencing off private lots are erratic and are usually made with a variety of obstacles and fences. Weeds are the most common type of vegetation, although there are also occasional apple trees which form small orchards. However, the general effect of the yards is that of a wasteland. Half-standing houses, abandoned cars, trucks, and appliances contribute to this impression.

Trees are planted along most of the streets. Considering their variety and age, they may have been planted by some of the original owners. Occasionally, there are short rows of younger trees; these are probably replacements for the elms that died in the city several years ago.

The only signs in the neighborhood posted by the residents are No Trespassing and Beware of Dog signs; there are quite a number of these. Because this observation was conducted in December, I encountered Christmas decorations on almost every house. Most of these were elaborate in design and some people had set up nativity scenes on their front porches or yards. (Despite the fact that some people in the interviews expressed concern about leaving things outside, none of these displays appeared to have been touched by vandals.)

Recreational Centers and Playgrounds

Several parks and playgrounds are within walking distance for the people who live in this neighborhood. However, many people have to cross busy streets to get to these parks.

Lincoln Park[25] is the largest in the neighborhood. It is located on top of a hill from which there is a beautiful view of the city. The park has a pool and a playground, both situated within a large open area. One could imagine this as a perfect place for family recreation, but many respondents complained that it is overrun by teenagers and unsafe for little children because of drag racing and broken glass. (I walked through this park at several times of day. Despite frequent police patrols, the respondents' claims were accurate. Late afternoon and early evenings were peak periods when young people tended to congregate and drag race. Alcohol was prevalent, and many teenagers were also smoking marijuana.)

Schiller-Wadsworth Park[32], although outside the neighborhood, is also used by some of the residents. It is within walking distance for most but getting there involves crossing James Street. Schiller-Wadsworth has less litter and seems to be in better condition than Lincoln Park. There is also a pool and playground area here, together with a lot of open space. The same problem with the teenagers exists, but to a lesser degree. More families tend to use this park than Lincoln Park. Police patrol this area frequently.

The area that seems to be used the most by young children is the playground next to Dr. Weeks Elementary School[26b]. It has a large, open field, and at one end are slides and climbing apparatus in very good condition. The playground is visible from houses alongside the park. It is fenced off from Oak Street, but is so open and exposed that trouble makers could easily be seen.

On Lodi Street is a small fenced in area known as Clinton Park[27b]. Some of the climbing apparatus and the small basketball courts are deteriorating. Although I saw some small children here, there were many more at Dr. Weeks school.

The Hawley Youth Organization (HYO) is located in the Dr. Weeks elementary school[26a] complex. Like other sections of the complex, it is in very good condition. Services provided by HYO are discussed below.

Services

People living in this neighborhood have access to a number of hospitals and health clinics. Generally, people choose St. Joseph's Hospital[33], because of easy access. The University-hospital[34] area is also within walking distance, but getting there entails crossing many busy streets.

The Northeast Hawley Development Association (NEHDA)[35] was started by a group of people who originally belonged to a larger organization. Because of certain political differences, the HYO and NEHDA split off from this larger group. Respondents described HYO as providing adult education, recreation, daycare and counseling services. NEHDA was described as taking an advocacy role in the areas of police protection, helping people acquire funds, and helping with the actual work on home improvements. NEHDA is a storefront operation that also helps people bring down food costs through cooperative buying.

Several churces of different denominations are located within the neighborhood. The Baptist[26], Episcopalian[37], and Catholic churches[38] are well established and seem to be well attended. A smaller one, the Church of the Living Word,[39] looks less prosperous and is located behind a locked fence that separates the church from the commercial buildings on Burnet Avenue.

Dr. Weeks Elementary School[26a] is centrally located and is within walking distance for all of the people in the neighborhood. It is a relatively new school and is in very good condition. It has a pre-K program and provides parenting seminars for people in the neighborhood.

Commerical Areas and Businesses

Commercial enterprises are concentrated most heavily along James Street and Burnet Avenue, but a variety of smaller businesses are scattered throughout the neighborhood. Bars[11], gas stations[30], and corner stores[29] are the most common among these. Located in the center of the neighborhood are a drug store[40] and laundromat[41]. Many smaller businesses[42] are situated in old storefronts along Hawley Avenue. There is quite a variety, including: a vacuum sales and service shop, a rug and tile store; and a small gymnasium. The only bookstore[43] in the area is known for its wide selection of "adult" literature.

Major shopping for food and clothes has to be done outside the neighborhood. Most people travel several miles to the Shop City Mall[44] for groceries. The mall also houses clothing stores and a general discount store. The other grocery store (Chicago Market)[45] is even closer, but few people mentioned that they used this one. Downtown[3], which is easily accessible, provides a variety of stores where people from this neighborhood can shop.

Two reputable Italian restaurants, (The Villa[20] and Caroma's[46]) a pizza parlor[19], and a seafood store[47] are located in the neighborhood. There are also several small restaurants[19] located in storefronts built into homes. The two Italian restaurants are often frequented by outsiders, while the smaller ones are more apt to serve people from the neighborhood.

People

This neighborhood was quite active at all times of the day and into the night. The people I saw were mostly white.. Many people of different ages entered and left their homes and walked along the streets. Some older Black men were seen near the Burnet-James intersection and, occasionally, small groups of Black teenagers walked through the neighborhood. The largest concentration of Blacks was seen at the local elementary school, when teachers brought their classes out to the playground for recess.

During business hours, many people were visible in the commercial areas. An entrance to one of the discount houses along Burnet Avenue needed a policeman to direct traffic. Deliveries were being made to the many stores along these streets. At night, activity centered around the bars, although there were small groups of people (usually couples, or groups of men) walking along many of the streets.

Policemen frequently patrolled the neighborhood, getting out of their cars from time to time and having conversations with people. The mailman seemed to be well known here, and he often stopped to exchange a few words with people as he passed. (One man exclaimed from across the street, "It's harder to move around in this weather than it was 25 years ago, eh?")

Groups of teenagers tended to hang around the various corner stores or in the parks, often commenting as single women passed by.

LBJ: Demographic Profile of Project Families*

The Neighborhood survey characterized LBJ as a low-income, city neighborhood with a population that included both Black and white families. The families in our sample, however, are all white with the exception of one Black single mother. The majority of the families are low-income; in fact, twelve of sixteen have yearly incomes below $9,999 and seven subsist primarily on welfare support. There seems to be racial tension in the area and it is a part of Syracuse which some Black people feel is unsafe for them.

The families in our sample in this neighborhood are predominantly single parents; there are ten single-parent families and six two-parent families. The low rents of area apartments may be one of the fators that draws single parents.

The majority of the mothers (12) are under thirty, although the 6 married women (and their husbands) are, on the average, older. Three of the married couples are in the very late thirties and forties. Ten of the families have three or more children. The single mothers have considerably more education than the married ones. The average educational level of the five married women who provided educational information is 8.6 years. The single mothers average 11.6 years and seven of the ten have high school degrees. The six married fathers average 9.8 years of education; one had completed high school. The majority of the families are Protestants or Catholics; three families report no religious affiliation and one is Fundamentalist. The mothers' ethnic identifications, in order of descending frequency, include American-white, West European, Italian, Irish, English, and Afro-American. These statistics suggest that there are important differences between the single and married residents and that LBJ is a neighborhood characterized by diversity.

The differences in the situation of the one and two-parent families and aspects of the neighborhood's character are pointed up by the information on home ownership and residential mobility. Only three of the families, all two-parent, own their homes.

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* This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston

The six married couples have lived in LBJ an average of 17 years, while eight of the ten single parents have lived there for two years or less. The mobility of the single parents is further indicated by the fact that they report an average of 3.9 moves, rarely one move a year in the past four years. Seven of the nine families who do not own cars and eight of the nine welfare recipients are single parents. These statistics suggest an environment in which poor and transient single parents live in apartments amidst a few two-parent homeowners who are somewhat better off.

The data on family income show that the majority of the families are poor. Seven of the families, including three married couples, are trying to support three or more children on less than $10,000 a year. As stated, seven of the families receive their primary financial support from welfare. All six fathers are employed in blue collar jobs with the exception of one white collar worker. Three work over 40 hours a week. Six mothers work and are split between part and full-time employment. Two of the single mothers are employed full-time and their earnings are the primary source of support for their families. One husband and wife, each working at two blue collar jobs, and between them putting in 163 hours a week, earn slightly less than $20,000 a year.

The picture that emerges from these figures is mainly that of a group of white families with few resources: few own homes or cars and most are struggling to survive with below poverty level incomes.

The social network material collected from the LBJ mothers shows that in comparison with the other nine program neighborhoods these mothers report close to the lowest average number of neighbors in their networks. However, when one examines the LBJ mothers' reports on their contacts with neighbors for practical, financial, and emotional support, the comparative averages show that neighbors are more important for these things in LBJ than they are in many of the other neighborhoods. LBJ ranks fourth in terms of average number of neighbors who are also part of the parimary network. This suggests a pattern such that in comparison to the other program neighborhoods, LBJ mothers have fewer neighbors in their networks but report more exchanges with those neighbors they do consider important for various forms of support.

Respondents' Perceptions

In this neighborhood that we have defined as "LBJ" (from the triangle formed by Lodi, Burnet, and James streets), we find people of differing religions, ages, marital status, and ethnic backgrounds. Although social service workers call this area the "golden triangle" because of the number of welfare and child abuse cases, none of the residents surveyed defined the neighborhood by these boundaries or gave it a specific name. Formal ratings of the neighborhood ranged from positive to negative extremes, but ratings did not seem to be related to length of residence or home ownership. Peoples' ideas about their neighborhood were generalized from experiences with immediate neighbors and circumstances and attitudes about people of differing race and age had a big effect on perceptions of the neighborhood. The only consensus from the respondents about the people who lived here was that there was a prevalence of alcoholics and "punky" teenagers.

In the physical environment of LBJ, two distinct trends are evident. On the one hand, there are restoration projects and an effort toward renewal of an old, historic neighborhood. On the other hand, there is an increasing number of boarded up and abandoned houses. Several services and organizations are trying hard to move this neighborhood in a positive direction.

The center of the most influential of these services is Dr. Weeks Elementary School. This neighborhood school goes beyond the normal scope of education, housing a youth organization, holding a parenting seminar, and providing a pre-K program, which was used more than the other services. This program was spoken of positively because of its location; it is within walking distance for all of the families. Because it is housed in the elementary school, older brothers and sisters could help bring younger children to and from school. People were glad that their children didn't have to take a bus at such a young age. Many parents felt that their participation in the program provided them with the opportunity to meet other people in the neighborhood.

All respondents were satisfied with the quality of care their children received. They saw the pre-K program as giving their children necessary preparation for school entry. It also enabled some parents to work or get things done around the house knowing that their children were well cared for. Academic and social preparation were not the only things parents felt their children acquired:

> They teach her to work with her hands...like how to pour without spilling, to tie her shoes, to cut or paste... It's good because it teaches her things that are important that I just can't find the time to do myself. It makes my job alot easier.

Another service, HYO (Hawley Youth Organization) is also located in the school complex. HYO provides day care that is used primarily during summers and after school hours by working mothers in our sample. The day care program provides supervised play and instruction in crafts, as well as some field trips.

Several adults mentioned that they took part in sewing classes offered at HYO. Both the pre-K and HYO programs were offered free or on a sliding fee scale based on income.

The school also offered a "Positive Parenting" group that was extremely important to at least one resident:

> Its been a great support to me in helping to understand my children. We can talk about specific problems and everyone tries to help you. I've learned a lot about myself as a parent and I've gone through some helpful changes. It's helped me to be less uptight, because I've seen there are solutions even when it's hard to see them by yourself.

Another organization that had a positive impact on residents was NEHDA (Northeast Hawley Development Organization). It is a neighborhood center described as providing advocacy for residents in the areas of police protection, counseling and emotional support services and assisting with funding and work on home repair, and buying food at low cost through a cooperative. Two individuals, who were described as "dedicated", run the operation from a storefront located in the center of the neighborhood.Various people who used this service considered them close friends.

The general feeling about health care was positive. St. Joseph's Hospital houses a health clinic and is within walking distance for residents living in the LBJ neighborhood. Almost half of the respondents used the clinic and were very satisfied with the quality of care. The only complaint about the service itself was made by a woman who said she had "to wait hours" whenever she went to the clinic. Expense was not an issue for routine care, but, several individuals who had sought psychiatric help had to discontinue it after one or two visits because of the cost.

Five respondents considered neighborhood churches important to their families. One woman who sent her children to the Catholic School felt that it made a big difference: "When my daughter was going to first communion classes you could see the difference: Catholic School children, they just sat right there and public school kids were running through the pews. You can just see the difference of...I call it law and order."

Most people felt that they had easy access to small convenience grocery stores and to a drug store in the neighborhood. Typically, people remarked, "both are really high-priced but they're there if you need something desperately...that's good." Besides convenience, there were other reasons why people liked these stores:

> It's a place that (my son) likes to go on errands with grandpa to pick up little odds and ends. I give (my son) the money and he'll pay for the things. It teaches him about money and he likes having a little responsibility."

A larger supermarket is located in a shopping center miles from the neighborhood but direct bus service is available. Opinions about the convenience of shopping there were evenly divided. Most people with cars like to shop there. Of those who used the bus, most praised the service, but said that the trip home was difficult because of having to carry packages and watch children. Some people resorted to using taxis for the trip home, thus, increasing their shopping expenses. Although the distance was inconvenient for some people, one woman was glad that "they aren't right on top of us, because of all the traffic and outsiders they tend to bring in."

Access to downtown, either by bus or on foot, made shopping for general family needs a lot easier. People who worked downtown enjoyed the close proximity they had to their jobs. In general, easy access to downtown was important to most respondents.

For recreation, respondents mentioned two of the city's parks (Lincoln Park and Schiller-Wadsworth), the playground at the elementary school, and Clinton Park, located across the street from a closed elementary school. Most people who used these areas were pleased with them . There were some complaints about lack of supervision for teenagers, but most people still allowed their children to go to these parks. However, one woman did place restrictions on her children because: "It's the Blacks...the minute they come in...out! Out of there, because they take over. They want the swing. They want this, they want that and the white kids can't do anything." This woman reported that NEHDA was working on getting someone to supervise the parks.

For some people, the parks offered more than just a place for the children to play:

> Our major recreation is going to (my older son's) Little League games in the summer and the field is about a two-minute walk from here so that's really convenient. I also don't have to drive anywhere to take (my son) to his practices because he can come and go on his own.

Other services mentioned by a few individuals as being important to them were a laundromat and the library which were very accessible. One woman cited several neighborhood organizations that she belonged to. The "LBJ Action League" and "Syracuse United Neighbors" were said to promote community action and awareness on specific problems the neighborhood faced. She liked her involvement in these groups because "it gives me something to do outside the home - something worthwhile, indirectly it benefits the kids, too...well, it helps make the neighborhood better."

According to one respondent, the neighborhood includes "Blacks, whites, Chicanos, and Arabs." However, some people were careful to note that there were mostly white people in their immediate area. People tended to emphasize their southern boundary which separated them from a Black neighborhood.

> Most people would consider this the southside but it's actually the northside. But, because it's so close to the all-Black section, most people

> do consider it a bad section-they give it that name which I don't personally consider it.

There were a number of residents living here who had moved from the "southside" area and one white respondent commented:

> It's better than the southside-that's ghetto Black. It's nicer to raise kids (here) than down there...I don't believe kids should be raised in the ghetto. They don't have much of a chance. Kids here are (my daughter's) type.

Sometimes, respondents extended their northern boundary across James Street into a more affluent and predominately white section. Many referred to their neighborhood as being an Italian section, although from background characteristics of our sample, we see quite a mixture of backgrounds.

There are also people of differing ages living here. Younger people often pointed out the presence of older people, who in turn, were careful to note the "newcomers." We do know that there is a decreasing number of families with small children because one of the elementary schools was closed and boarded up due to the lack of enrollment. In recruiting families for our sample, we also had a problem finding families with young children and had to extend our original boundaries outside the Lodi-Burnet-James triangle. Neither the younger nor older people in our sample viewed each other as enhancing their own situations. Both tended to believe that they had nothing in common with their neighbors. Younger respondents often complained of being lonely and wished that there were more people of their age with whom they might develop friendships. One woman, who complained about the number of old people, referred to an older couple that didn't like children playing on their sidewalk. This didn't bother the women too much because, according to her, "no one pays attention to them." One of our older respondents, (a grandmother who had adopted her two grandsons) felt that the people in the neighborhood let "their kids run wild and (their children) aren't watched properly." Our older respondents tended to be more defensive about their property and carefully screened playmates for their children. They viewed the younger people, usually renters, as transients. In fact, with

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the exception of one married couple who owned their own home, no one had rented the same apartment for more than two years. The two older respondents had owned their own homes for 7 and 12 years; these people had also grown up in the neighborhood.

It was difficult finding single parents for our sample in this neighborhood. One person we did interview felt she was unique and that she had to isolate her son and herself from her neighbors:

> All the kids around here have daddies. They tease (my son) about not having a father. So, I don't even let him play with the kids because they end up picking on him.

Although this woman had lived in the neighborhood for two years she often felt so lonely she didn't know what to do with herself. However, these feelings were not expressed by other single parents interviewed.

Although people often felt isolated from those of different age and marital status from themselves, the harshest words were usually directed towards people of a different race:

> We have alot of niggers and Puerto Ricans around here, plus, a couple of salt and pepper couples (mixed). These people you always have to be careful of...they're dirty and almost all of them have bugs of some sort. So you really have to watch your kids and defend your property. These people have no concern for their own selves much less anyone else.

Strong anti-Black sentiments seemed to be characteristic of many people who lived here. When two of our program workers were beginning to organize this neighborhood, they were told by several people not to bring in any Blacks to work.

The one Black respondent we had in this neighborhood didn't seem to realize the furor centered around people of her race. She stated that she did not really know many of her neighbors, but felt the neighborhood was "very quiet" and "working out very well" for hes.

There were also other people and places present in the neighborhood that made respondents feel they had to keep a close eye on their children. "There are too many

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bars - one on every corner...there is a fight almost every night and rough people hang out on the street. I never know what's going to happen and I don't like my kids around these kinds of people - they're just a bad influence."

People felt that the bars brought people into the neighborhood who wouldn't ordinarily be there. Some of them were said to live in boarded up businesses and houses. Respondents felt that the prevalence of alcoholics was something that had to be contended with at all times of the day and not just around bars. "We also have a bunch of alcoholics across the street that congregate there all day. Their language is filthy and I just don't want my kids to hear it. So, I am the one who has to suffer, because I have to restrict my kids and not let them on the street." The number of people drinking was mentioned by just about everyone. One person even declared, "everyone is staggering."

Although the emphasis was on the bad influence of these people on their children, there was also concern over personal safety. "Who knows what they'll do," or "my kids find them around here and get frightened...Drunk people are vicious" were some comments. These general impressions came to life for one individual:

> We had a small incident that kind of scared the heck out of me. Some drunk for some reason thought we had his carton of cigarettes because he couldn't find them and he threatened to break through our door...he was a big guy and the police had to wrestle him to get him off our porch.

Another group that caused parents to worry was the teenagers in the neighborhood. Described as "these punky kids, these ones that get high on stuff," they created problems mostly because they were hard to control (called older people names, pushed around the little kids) and drank in the parks, leaving broken glass behind. Those people who lived near the parks felt that it was "a pain" to listen to the noise teenagers made, but the larger problem for everyone was the litter they left behind. Some parents were afraid to let their smaller children go to the parks because of the broken glass. Teenagers in the area were also the focus of other worries:

> The kids here are bad-you hear about 13 and 14-year-olds having babies. In this neighborhood

> (my daughter), can learn all the wrong things at the wrong ages. The kids never use birth control and know (nothing) about it...I want (my daughter) to know these things and I don't know when to tell her about it. That's the one thing I'm really worried about.

In addition to these problems, parents also worried about heavy traffic. They felt they had to keep a close watch, especially on the younger children. Complaints were made about drunken drivers, teenagers drag racing, and fast moving cars that did not obey stop signs. Because of the danger of crossing streets, many potential playmates were separated.

People did not like having to restrict their children, but this problem was eased by the private space available to most of the people. Having a backyard was a very big help and most respondents, even those in apartments had a yard. A yard was typically "the only place I don't have to worry about them." People who wanted to, could then screen the children they would let their children play with.

Generally people felt safe and felt they could control events outside their homes. No break-ins were reported and most people "hadn't heard of any." However, people were careful about leaving things outside. "You can't leave anything out or it's gone," stated one parent. One woman who anticipated this problem planned to bolt her newly bought swingset to the ground. People stayed in their homes, especially at night, when many felt the streets were not safe because of "all the wild people around here."

The only people who seemed to really worry about safety in their homes were a small group of women who were afraid of their ex-husbands, and one woman who felt that "It can be real creepy because everyone around here knows that I'm alone - they know there isn't any man here to protect us - how do I know that they won't try to come in here to my house?" A milder concern came from first floor apartment dwellers whose windows were close to the ground.

Peoples' feeling of security was increased by the police protection in the neighborhood. Many people felt that the police "were around a lot," and that the teenagers respected them and knew not to fool around with them. Most people knew the two policemen whose area this was to patrol and personal relationships had been established with them. "They're always at the store (reference to family owned smoke shop). They know I haven't got a phone and so they watch me lock up and follow me half a block until they know that I'm safe and on my street. They come into the store and talk to me, even on their days off." One woman who particularly liked these two officers wrote a letter to the police chief in order to keep them in the neighborhood.

For apartment dwellers, the sense of security was enhanced by living on the second floor and by having windows that were high enough off the ground to prevent easy entry. Good locks on the doors also contributed to a feeling of safety. One women felt that her apartment was "one area where I do feel safe because I am in an apartment house with a family who cares about me."

Most people felt that they had adequate space in their homes and apartments. People who owned their own homes or rented a full house were the most satisfied. Some apartment dwellers felt 'a little cramped' in bad weather because their children could not play out in the yard. Some home owners had taken measures to improve the condition of their homes which made them feel even more comfortable.

> My house is the best house on the block. We had it done over and its more like a showcase of the neighborhood...My kids like it. I mean, they go in some houses and then come home and see what they've got. I don't think they'd ever want to move, even if I did.

Having enough bedrooms for everyone seemed most important to people when they described their space. Most of the time, people spoke about a need for adequate sleeping arrangements, but one woman spoke about discipline: "(My son) is able to have his own bedroom...I find it convenient because if he's bad, I can isolate him in his room and because he hates this, he usually straightens out pretty quick." Two people who lived in apartments, did not have enough bedrooms. One of them didn't particularly care but said the Welfare Department was putting pressure on her to find a place with more bedrooms. The other, who had to make her bedroom in the dining room because of her large family, felt that she couldn't leave. "Nobody likes five children. It's hard to find a place with five children. That's the only thing that keeps me here...I don't have no choice."

People living in apartments tended to be less satisfied with their housing. Those renters who felt best about housing usually had close interaction with a landlord, either because the owner was a relative or lived in the neighborhood. In these instances, landlords often took on other roles: "He's like a father to us all. He lowered the rent to a price we can afford without much trouble and he helps me with errands (driving) if my husband can't take me. I can depend on him for anything." Under this kind of circumstance, business transactions became more personable: "(My landlady) is very understanding about my financial situation and if something comes up, I can delay the rent and she doesn't come down on me because she knows I'll pay when I can."

Other people who felt that their landlords just came "to collect the rent" and didn't check on the condition of their apartment were the ones who were least satisfied. Their main concern was the appearance of the house or apartment: "It needs a lot of fixing. It's not very nice looking on the outside. The landlord don't want to do nothing or paint it or nothing." One woman was willing to do the work herself:

> If the walls were painted then the place would look halfway decent and it wouldn't be so bad. I've tried to get the landlady to give me paint and I would paint this place myself but she won't do it. And I'm always home so I always have to look at these dingy walls.

There were other isolated complaints about electrical wiring, absence of smoke detectors and a proper fire escape, and having no doors on the bedrooms. One woman who had water come in her apartment when it rained decided on "not paying the rent this month" to pressure the landlord into fixing things.

Lack of privacy was most often an issue when people could point to a specific source which intruded into their lives. These people would generalize this experience declaring that this "is a very nosey neighborhood." One woman was upset by the noise coming from a club near her home during the early morning hours. In most instances, intrusions came in the form of people who expressed disapproval over some aspect of a person's life.

> My landlady lives across the street and she watches everything. She watches who visits me and she watches how many lights I have on because my utilities are included in my rent. It's almost like "Peyton Place" around here.
>
> I don't like the people. People next door are religious. If I'm tired, I'll have a beer and they don't approve-they don't care for me.

Another woman said that the woman across the street told her to keep her blinds shut while watching TV. But, on the other hand watching other people's activities gave at least one person pleasure. "It keeps me occupied. I can be a busybody and no one can watch me from the balcony."

Privacy was an important factor in satisfaction with housing and those who had a whole house to themselves seemed most satisfied. "I think it helps when you have a house set aside from the rest, because you don't have to be interdependent on one another. It's a matter of choice," stated one respondent. Though many people did express negative feelings about neighbors, an equal number felt their neighbors were "nice...friendly kinds of people but not nosey."

Individual neighbors often proved supportive to respondents, especially in the area of child care. Although relatives were primarily used as a first source, neighbors were reliable for shorter periods of time (doctor appointments, shopping trips). Those without relatives in the area, depended more heavily on neighbors. Generally, people felt they could count on one another to watch out for each other's children and often referred specifically to the busy traffic and to the playgounds. Ratings in the child care area indicated that all but one person felt generally good or very good about their arrangements. One man even felt that the "bums, alcoholics, and winos" had a positive effect: "I think it's good that (my partner's son) could live here just to sample more or less what city life was like in his younger years." There were also other people who felt that this exposure would help teach their children ways of dealing with other people that would help them later on in life.

Peoples' greatest support usually came from within the family unit. Married people depended on their spouses for emotional and financial support, while single parents often cited themselves as their greatest strength. Money from welfare was also very important to certain individuals. Both married and single parents were proud of their children. Frequently, parents' pointed to their children's various achievements, especially when "they do good in school."

Despite the fact that there were many complaints voiced by respondents about the neighborhood, there are several reasons why one would expect them to stay. Given the fact that most are living on limited budgets, the rent and mortgage payments in this area are at least manageable. Home owners felt their payments were "as low as can be." "Nobody would believe our payments - its more like 1890 prices than 1979." Most renters felt that the rent was reasonable, but some complained that it was "hard with the little that welfare gives you." Those people who had access to porches and back yards felt they had more control over events affecting them. Most people felt they had enough space in their homes to be comfortable and those who had lived in comparable neighborhoods felt that this one was much safer for their children and themselves.

The neighborhood school is considered to be excellent by most people using it. It provides many services to support people in their parenting roles and provides a common meeting place for the people who live here. Perhaps when the children of the people in our sample are going to school, they will find more in common with one another and begin to forget their differences. In the meantime, there are a variety of neighborhood organizations trying to involve people in working for a better community.

The LBJ neighborhood is in a state of flux. Restoration projects are beginning while slowly more houses are being abandoned and boarded up. Some of the buildings here have been registered as historic landmarks. Funds have been used to restore them and small businesses have moved in. Many business owners and landlords live in the area and thus have a personal interest in the neighborhood. The availability of low interest loans and grants for the purpose of fixing up homes has been a positive force in the neighborhood (and high income apartment buildings have been built along James Street for area professionals who desire close proximity to downtown). Community organizations are working hard to bring people together while residents are stressing differences amongst themselves, feeling as though they have nothing in common. Besides counteracting these attitudes, organizations will have to work hard to overcome the many other stresses felt by low-income families as the general economic condition worsens. At this time, the future direction of this neighborhood is difficult to forecast.

LEXINGTON-EAST FAYETTE:

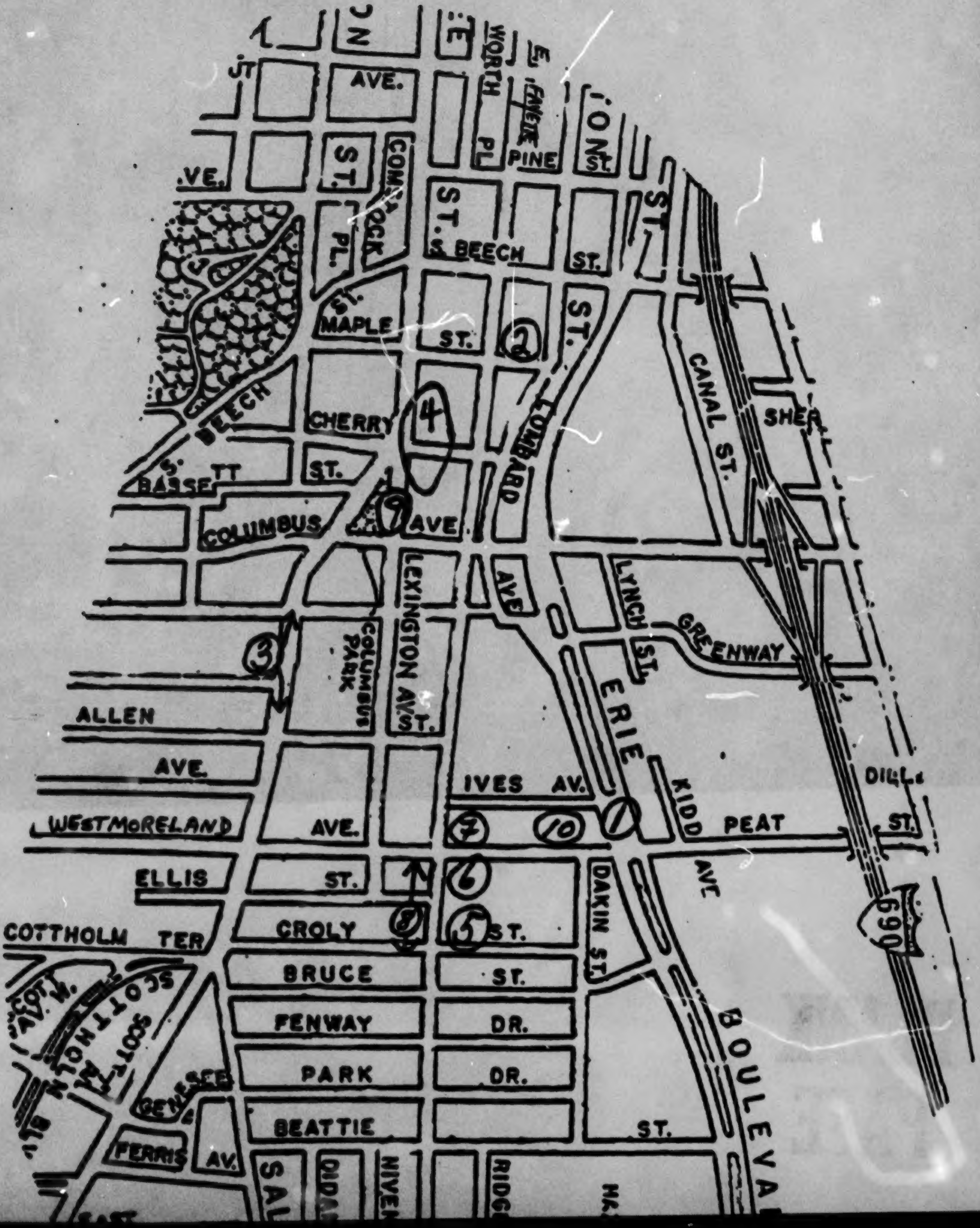
NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

Artis Lee
Ann Pitkin

KEY: Lexington-E. Fayette

1. Erie Blvd. East
2. Maple Street
3. East Genesee Street
4. Cherry Street commercial district
5. Croly Street
6. Salt Springs Housing Project
7. Eastview (Fayette Arms) Apartments
8. Salt Springs commercial district
9. Columbus Park
10. Westmoreland Park

LEXINGTON - EAST FAYETTE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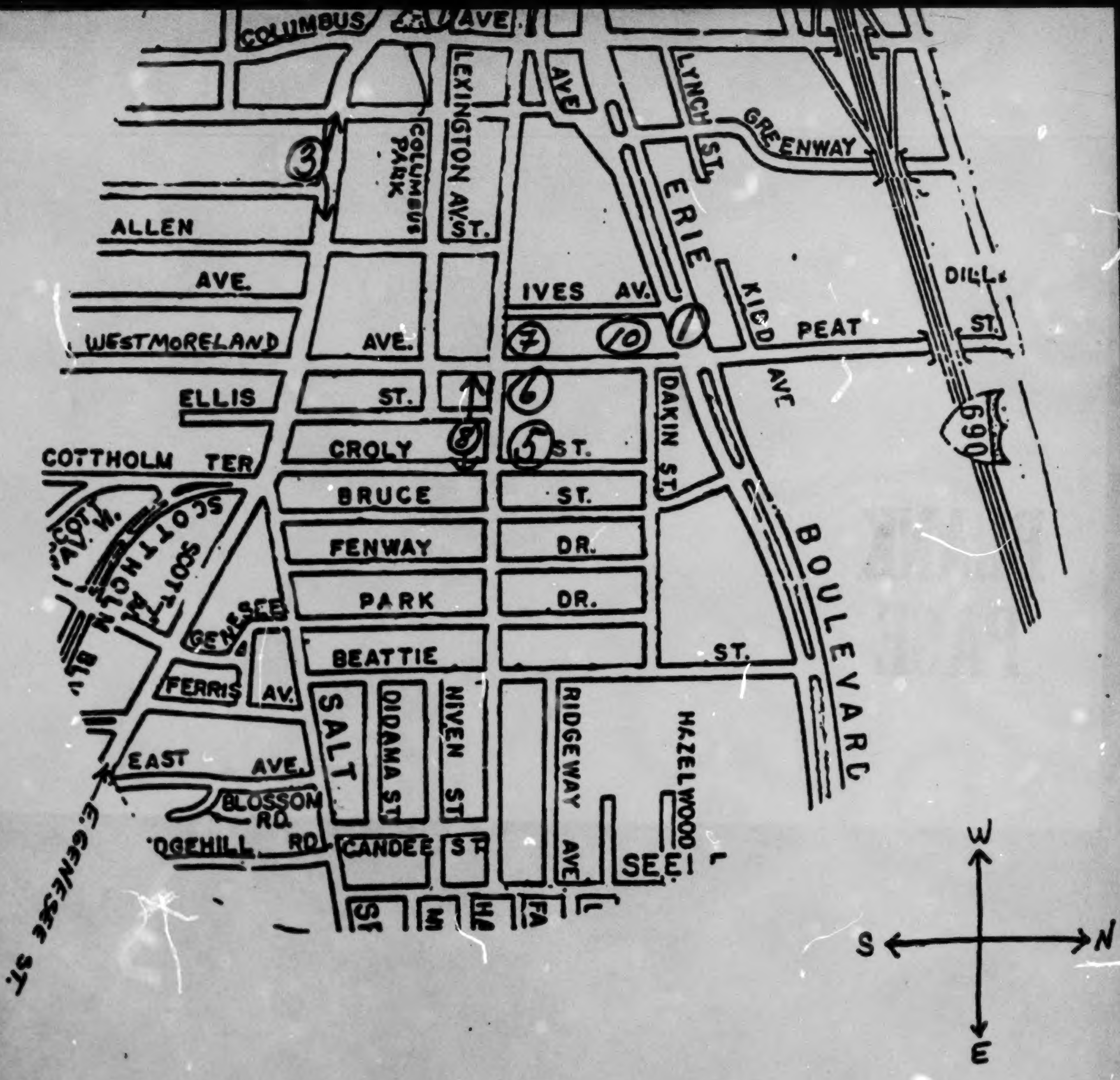
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Lexington-East Fayette
Neighborhood Profile *

Direct Observations

Boundaries

The northern boundary of the neighborhood known as Lexington-East Fayette is Erie Blvd. East.(1) Along this major artery are numerous commercial enterprises. There are a great many gas stations and several automobile sales agencies, as well as fast-food restaurants and many other businesses. Although this street is technically located within the Lexington-Fayette neighborhood, it is used little by residents.

The western boundary of Lexington-E. Fayette is Maple Street.(2) This street is primarily made up of two family dwellings. Between E. Fayette Street and Lombard Street there is a large automotive repair shop. This shop has a large off-street parking area and consequently traffic or parking conditions for the rest of the street do not seem to be affected.

East Genesee Street(3) forms the southern boundary of the Lexington-Fayette area. Although East Genesee Street is comprised mostly of residential structures, there are also a number of doctor's offices and churches there. There is also a small commercial district(4) located near the intersection of E. Genesee and Cherry Streets.

The eastern boundary of the neighborhood is Croly Street.(5) This street is lined with one- and two-family dwellings and several apartment complexes. The residences nearest E. Genesee Street tend to be in much better condition than those nearest E. Fayette. Futher north, near Dakin Street, houses once more become well kept and more expensive looking.

Residential Areas

There are two large housing projects within the Lexington-Fayette area. One is considered low-income and the other moderate income, however, both appear fairly run down. Both projects are located on E. Fayette Street and are adjacent to each other.

*Eulas Boyd, Liz Kelly, Mary Maples all made valuable contributions in the preparation of this profile.

Salt Springs Housing Project(6) is the older of the two. It consists of three-story, red brick buildings separated by expanses of asphalt and grass. For the most part the buildings are dingy and run down. However, one of the structures is being renovated extensively both inside and out. There is a plan to renovate all the buildings one at a time while moving the tenants from one building to another until all work is completed. The inhabitants of this complex are primarily low income Blacks.

The newer of the housing projects is called Eastview Apartments.(7) It is located just west of Westmoreland Avenue and Salt Springs Housing Project. This complex consists of several two-story red brick buildings with a number of balconies on which can be seen lawn furniture and outdoor grills (apparently not in use for the winter). The residents of this project appear to be predominantly black. Despite the fact that this complex is referred to as being a "moderate income facility," most of the people residing here appear to belong to the lower end of the economic scale.

A good number of the residences in the area in general appear to be in a declining state. There are several empty, boarded-up houses. Although there are a number of houses that appear to be in quite good shape, these are exceptions rather than the rule.

Commercial Areas and Businesses

There are two commercial districts in the Lexington-Fayette neighborhood. One is located near the intersection of E. Genesee Street and Cherry Street(4) and consists of a bank, a small grocery store, three bars, a take-out restaurant, a dry-cleaner, and a carpet retailer. This district appears to be well utilized by people in the area, despite the fact that it has become somewhat run down.

The other commercial district(8) is located in a sad and decaying area in the vicinity of the Salt Springs Housing Project. (Since this district also lies partially in the Salt Springs neighborhood, we have described it in two profiles.) This area is the vestige of what was once a thriving commercial district that boasted two large supermarkets, several dry cleaners, a number of delicatessens, and other small businesses. Now, although a few enterprises still struggle to survive, none of the original establishments remain, and the district has taken on an abandoned look. There are huge gaping lots where once large supermarkets stood. Many vacant stores line Fayette Stree; most are boarded up. The only surviving businesses are a bakery, a fast food establishment, a bar, a liquor store, a beauty parlor and a small grocery store where prices are described as "ridiculous" by residents of the area. Up until mid-January 1981 there was another small grocery store located on E. Fayette Street, but it has since gone out of business.

Most of the businesses at this area are either owned or run by Blacks with the exception of the bakery and surviving grocery store. The bakery is owned by a Jewish family but employs both Blacks and whites who are not family members. The grocery store apparently is owned and operated by some middle-eastern men whose reputations are regarded as "suspect" by a number of residents in the area.

Most of the people I encountered on the street were Black; the majority appeared sullen and resigned.

Recreational Centers and Playgrounds

There are two recreational facilities in the Lexington-Fayette neighborhood, Columbus Park(9) and Westmoreland Park.(10) Both facilities are relatively small and limited in what they can offer.

Columbus Park consists of a small playground with a few swings, a climbing dome, and a sandbox. This area takes up only a small portion of the park. The rest of this block-long park consists of a relatively large grassy area with benches scattered about under several shade trees. The park is usually strewn with shartered glass and even during the summer months is not heavily used. There have been numerous attempts by residents to have the park cleaned up and patrolled to keep teenagers from drinking and smoking "grass" there. These attempts have not been successful and consequently the park is effectively unused by families in the area.

Westmoreland Park is composed of a couple of basketball courts and a playground with some climbing apparatus and swings. The park is a fenced in area near the corner of Westmoreland Avenue and Erie Blvd. Directly in front of the entrance are two "caution" signs facing in both directions, imploring drivers to look out for children who might be crossing to and from the park. (There apparently has been a history of accidents here due to the heavy flow of traffic to and from Erie Blvd.).

Both Columbus and Westmoreland Parks are primarily utilized by Blacks.

People

Most of the people I encountered in the Lexington-Fayette Street area were Black. Most appeared to be working class people of low to moderate income. Most white people I encountered were either merchants in the area or persons using the banking facilities on Lexington Avenue. Few appeared to reside in the neighborhood.

Demographic Profile of Project Families *

Before families were recruited for the project, Lexington-E. Fayette was characterized as an urban, low-income Black neighborhood. Demographic and background information about the fourteen families in the sample supports this characterization. All of the families, with the exception of one interracial couple, are Black. The average annual family income of the Lexington-E. Fayette sample is only $10,007, and incomes range from $3,240 to $11,800, excluding one married couple (both of whom work at professional level positions and earn a total of $40,000 per year).

Most of the thirteen parents affiliated with an organized religion are Protestant, but two are Jehovah's Witnesses, one is a Fundamentalist Christian, and one a Southern Methodist.

The Lexington-E. Fayette sample includes five married couples and nine single mothers, three of whom are living with their parents. The single women appear to have more economic hardships to deal with than the married couples do. In the first place they have more children ($x = 3.11$) than the couples do ($x = 2.4$). Secondly they have an average income of $7,015, as compared with the married couples' average income of $15,394. All six of the project families receiving welfare benefits in this neighborhood are headed by single women, as are the five families who use Food Stamps. Only one married couple does not own a car, but the other seven people without cars in this sample are single mothers.

In terms of mobility, both the married couples and single women seem to change residences fairly regularly. Eleven of the fourteen families had moved had least once in the past four years, and six of those had moved more than once. All but one of the families in the Lexington-E. Fayette sample are renters.

The average age of the men surveyed is thirty-three, while the women average about four years younger. Most of the parents (13) have at least a high school education, but only two of the men and two women studied beyond high school.

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*This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

In the Lexington-E. Fayette group, seven mothers are employed, four of whom work full-time. This income is essential since four of the employed women are single, and the money earned by the three married women totals 43% of their average family income. Three of the women have professional level jobs; the others are blue collar workers. Four of the five fathers in this neighborhood are employed, all at full-time jobs. The three blue collar workers earn less than $10,000 per year, while the one father with a professional level job earns $25,000. The Lexington-E. Fayette neighborhood sample is for the most part quite homogeneous. Most of the families are Black, Protestant, blue collar, and all but one are quite poor. Most families have from two to four children and none own their own homes. The married couples seem to fare a little better in general than the single mothers do. The single women rely on a variety of sources of support including employment, welfare, and in three cases, living in their own parents' households.

The social network material collected from the Lexington-E. Fayette families shows that in comparison with families in the other nine program neighborhoods, the Lexington-E. Fayette parents have the third largest number of neighbors both in their social networks in general, and in their primary networks in particular. These parents turn to their neighbors relatively frequently for emotional, financial, work-related and child-related support. However, this neighborhood falls to seventh in terms of the number of neighbors who are also relatives of the project families. The Lexington-E. Fayette families vary a great deal in the number of neighbors they mentioned in their social networks; some parents listed none, and others as many as thirty-three. However, in all categories the women averaged many more contacts with their neighbors than the men did.

Respondents' Perceptions

Commercial Areas

There are two distinct commercial areas in the Lexington-Fayette neighborhood. One is located on the eastern boundary of the neighborhood near the intersection of E. Fayette St. and Croly Ave. The other is situated on the southern boundary near the intersection of E. Genesee and Cherry Streets. Both of these areas consist primarily of a "convenience" store, a beauty parlor, a dry cleaning establishment, and a bar.

Despite the relatively easy access to the "convenience" stores in the neighborhood, most respondents were quite unhappy with these businesses. Many felt that the prices they had to pay for goods at these stores were excessive.

One respondent stated:

> We don't have anything like a main grocery store where they don't rob you. Prices are always (much) more (at the small stores) than in the larger stores ... We really need a supermarket nearby.

There seemed to be a general feeling in the L-F area that the neighborhood was experiencing a decline. One respondent observed that "everything around here is burned up or torn down."

Those respondents who owned cars tended to have more positive feelings about their shopping experiences than those who did not. The statements of these two respondents typify this effect:

> Getting things done and getting places are no problem, I have a car. We have a small shopping center nearby.
>
> I think it's rotten if you don't own a car. If you don't have a car things are bad. Bus service is not that good. The stores are too far away.

Recreational Areas

There are two parks located within Lexington-Fayette neighborhood. One of the parks is Westmoreland Park and is a fairly substantial facility consisting of several basketball courts, climbing structures, and other playground apparatus. The other park is a small area located opposite the commercial district near Cherry Street. This is a facility primarily geared toward small children and their parents, consisting of a swing, small climbing structures and a large sandbox. There are also a number of benches and several shade trees as well as a large decorative fountain that is no longer functional. This park is usually strewn with broken glass.

Most respondents felt that the recreational facilities in the area were either too far away or were not well maintained. A large number of the parents interviewed expressed a need for a facility that they would feel safe letting their children have the run of without undue concern about traffic and broken glass.

Child care

The majority of respondents felt that their child care arrangements were adequate or better. Those respondents expressing dissatisfaction with these arrangements were generally parents who did not have access to day care facilities.

Most respondents stated that for informal child care service (babysitting) they relied primarily upon their relatives and were quite satisfied with these arrangements.

Safety

The issue of safety was not one which dominated the thoughts of respondents in this neighborhood. Most safety concerns were centered around traffic problems rather than any fears of personal harm or property safety. People who lived on the main arteries of E. Genesee Street and E. Fayette Street expressed concern about the busy streets and the need for more traffic lights and crossing guards.

The general view of the neighborhood in terms of personal and property safety is probably quite close to this respondent's perceptions:

> (The neighborhood) is okay, about as good as any neighborhood. I feel pretty safe here for both myself and my family.

However, there were a couple of respondents who did not fee quite so positive about their safety. The concerns of these respondents were aimed at teenagers in the area. One of these parents stated:

> It's not so secure around here. I mean the (teenage) boys around here will break into your house if they get a chance.

Playmates

The issue of whether or not there were enough children of the same age as the respondent's child in the neighborhood was not the primary concern of most parents interviewed. The greater concern was that the respondent's child might be negatively influenced by the behavior of other children in the neighborhood. Consequently, although there appears to be no shortage of potential playmates in the neighborhood as a whole, many respondents indicated that their children were experiencing a loss in this domain.

> Since I've been living here in this house it's been harder because of the neighborhood. The kids use dirty language. My (older) child will spell out the dirty words to me. I don't like that.
>
> I don't think it's such a good idea for (child) to play with (the children around here). She picks up bad habits.
>
> ... Almost everybody here keeps their kids to themselves. They don't let their kids play with other children at least they try to prevent it. It makes it hard for (my) kids to find something to do.

Services

Most of the families in the Lexington-Fayette area use private physicians and generally feel that these facilities are easily accessible and reliable. Many of the respondents use Medicaid and a number indicated that this somewhat limited the choices they had for medical care despite their otherwise satisfactory feelings about the facilities. These two Medicaid users illustrate this point.

> I use the Upstate Medical Center Pediatric Clinic (as well as it's Neurology Clinic). They are okay. I'm not really crazy about (the Pediatric Clinic)

> but it's okay. I'd rather have a private doctor but the ones I like are either too far away or don't take Medicaid patients.
>
> I use a private doctor for (child) he's good with her and she's comfortable with him. I never have to wait and there is no problem with getting appointments.

Another agency that was frequently mentioned as having a significant impact upon families in the L-F area was the Department of Social Services. Most respondents stated that welfare was crucial to their families from a financial standpoint but that it exerted a great deal of negative pressure upon them on a personal level. Many felt that the agency purposely attempted to lower recipients' self-esteem and exploited the fact that these people had nowhere else to turn:

> I think (welfare) asks too much of your personal business and tries to embarass you.
>
> I'm on welfare but I don't like it. They make you feel like a dog because you need some help.

Because of the age of the target children at the time this interview was given, few parents mentioned school as a service that was important to them. However, one respondent with a school-aged child did voice the following concern:

> I don't know enough about the curriculum (of the school an older child attends)... I don't know what they're teaching him. I haven't been told what they're doing but I'm planning to make a (visit) soon.

Housing

Most respondents were not very happy with their housing arrangements. All but one of the families interviewed were renters. Most of the respondents in the L-F area reside in the two housing complexes on E. Fayette Street, and not one of these families felt good about their housing arrangements. The conditions that respondents found most disheartening were cramped living space, the pervasiveness of roaches and rodents, and the lack of privacy.

> There is no place for my son to run. There is not enough space for (my children) to play in.
>
> My kids need more space to play in. Sometimes they play in the hallway but I don't like that because it's cold out there.
>
> (This apartment) is really too small and there are roaches that we can never seem to get rid of... We can't control the heat and it gets cold in here. Or else you 'burn-up.' The maintenance is terrible (here).
>
> The rooms (in this apartment) are too small... I can't stand the damned roaches and they only exterminate once in a while. The only good thing is the low rent.
>
> The noise over my head, the loud music gets on my nerves. If they were in their own home they could play their (stereos) as loud as they wanted to, but being in an apartment building makes a big difference.
>
> The management (of this complex) is bad. They don't seem to care about the people. The heating is one good example, they turn on the heat when they get ready, not when we need it.

Finances

In terms of their overall financial condition, most respondents felt that they were struggling just to make ends meet. Both working people and people on welfare were generally displeased with the amount of money they had at their disposal. Most of the concern expressed centered around the issue of providing for their children:

> I wish I had more money to do more things for my kids. I'd like to buy them nice things but I can't afford it... Kids' clothes are so expensive and that's hard for me because I have four kids to buy clothes for. And we need new furniture but I can't afford to get it. I just wish I had more money.
>
> I never have enough money. I would like to put my kids in Catholic school but it costs too much.
>
> We don't have any real big expenses except for the upkeep of the house. My husband has a moderate income. With both of our salaries, we manage.

> Although I work, I never seem to have enough money to do the things I want. I like nice things and I want my kids to have nice things but I can't always buy them.
>
> I have to be on welfare because I can't find a job... Welfare should give more money to people.
>
> We couldn't survive without (welfare, although) it doesn't provide enough money.
>
> The hard part of raising my daughters is that I don't have a job and I have to depend on welfare. It's hard anyway you look at it because there is no easy way when you depend on welfare.
>
> We never seem to have enough money. The cost of living keeps going up and wages don't. It's a constant struggle... We seem to manage, but we barely make ends meet.

Church

Although a number of respondents stated that they and members of their family attended church occasionally, only one mentioned the church as being a very significant influence. This family was a member of the Jehovah's Witness faith and had this to say about their religious experience:

> We are Jehovah Witnesses and that's the most important thing in our family's life. I guess because it gives us a sense of moral standards... Living from the Bible has given our family strength and a sense of consciousness.

Despite this respondent's feelings about the effect of religion upon her family's life, she was one of the most dissatisfied parents interviewed when it came to the physical and financial qualities of her life.

Transportation

The majority of the families interviewed in L-F did not own a car. The lack of convenient transportation appeared to increase greatly respondents' feelings of isolation and added to the financial burden they experienced through the higher prices they had to pay for goods in their neighborhood.

Neighbors

Most respondents stated that they knew very few people in the neighborhood. Those people who had established a small circle of friends felt good about them, but had reservations about people in general who resided in the area. Some respondents expressed concern about neighborhood teenagers and what they preceived as a pervasive drug problem in the area, especially in the housing complexes. A number of respondents felt that there was a growing element of people who did not care about the neighborhood and that consequently the area was becoming run-down.

> I don't associate with many people around here, but the few I do deal with are O.K.
>
> I don't know many of my neighbors. The few that I know are good friends of mine.
>
> I don't talk to the people in my neighborhood.
>
> I don't know too many people, I find it hard to get to know them. Most of the kids (around here) go to different schools and you don't get to meet their parents.
>
> I can't even let my kids go out and play unless me or (my husband) go out and watch them. The teenagers smoke "reefer" in the hallways and drink wine. I don't want my kids exposed to that.
>
> I don't like the idea of the teenagers getting high in the hallway while (my child) is waiting for the bus.
>
> I like the area, but the neighborhood has become run-down. I mean...people with no sense of responsibility (are moving) in... The people in this neighborhood just don't care and things have become very run down.

Despite these negative feelings, a number of respondents felt good about the people in their neighborhood.

> I like the neighborhood. It's quiet and peaceful.
>
> Living in this neighborhood is pleasant. It is convenient (and) friendly... My family enjoys (living here).
>
> This is a very friendly neighborhood. The people...are

warm... I feel really good about the people. They are friendly and try to help if they are needed. In a time of crisis everyone in the neighborhood would be there to help out.

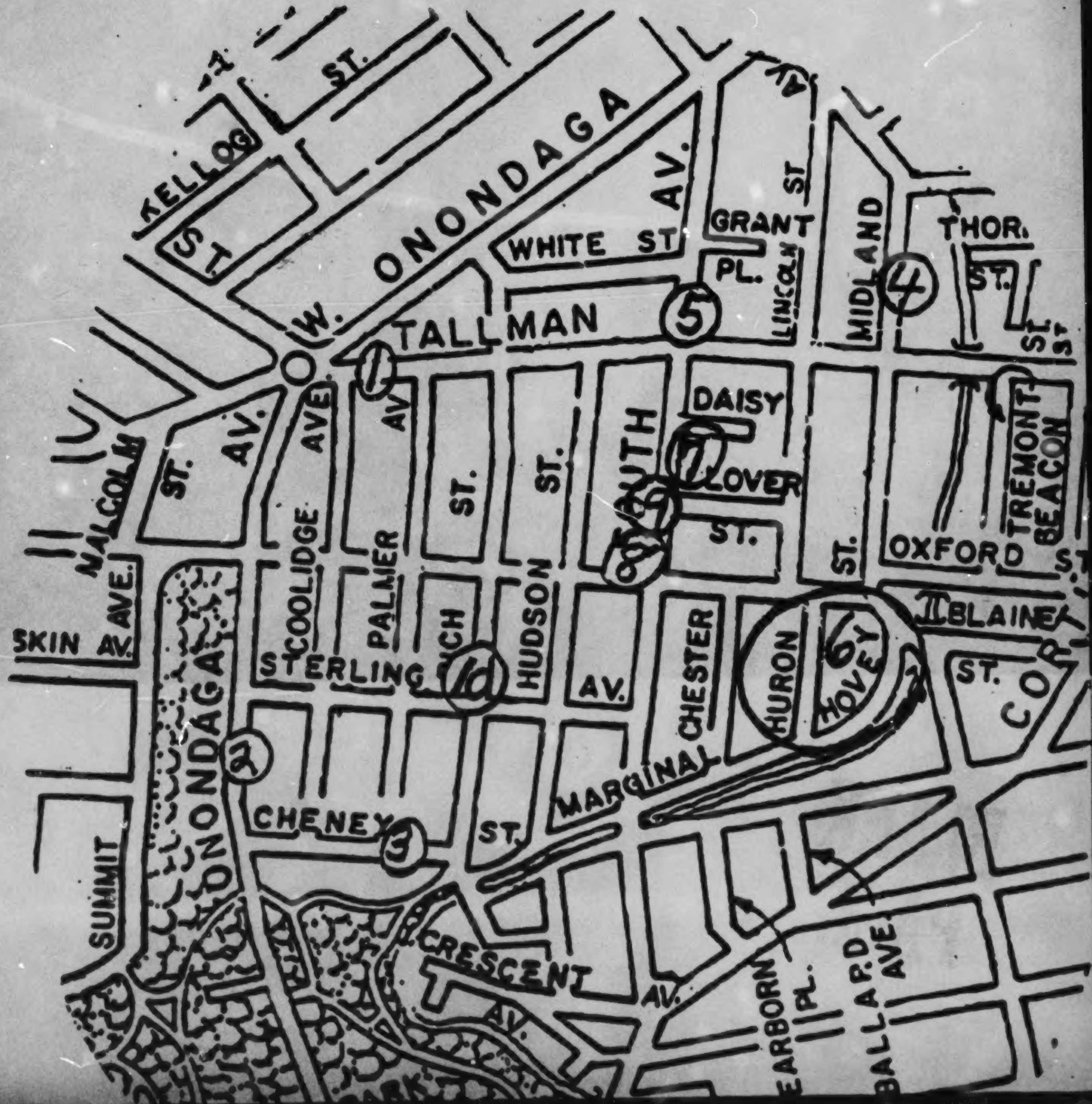
TALLMAN-SOUTH:
NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

Artis Lee
Ann Pitkin

KEY: Tallman-South

1. Tallman Street
2. Onondaga Avenue
3. Cheney Street
4. Midland Avenue
5. South Avenue (along this street are located commercial establishments)
6. Predominantly white, run down section of neighborhood
7. South West Community Center and Southside Day Care Center
8. Merrick School
9. Church
10. South West Day Care Center

TALLMAN - SOUTH AVENUE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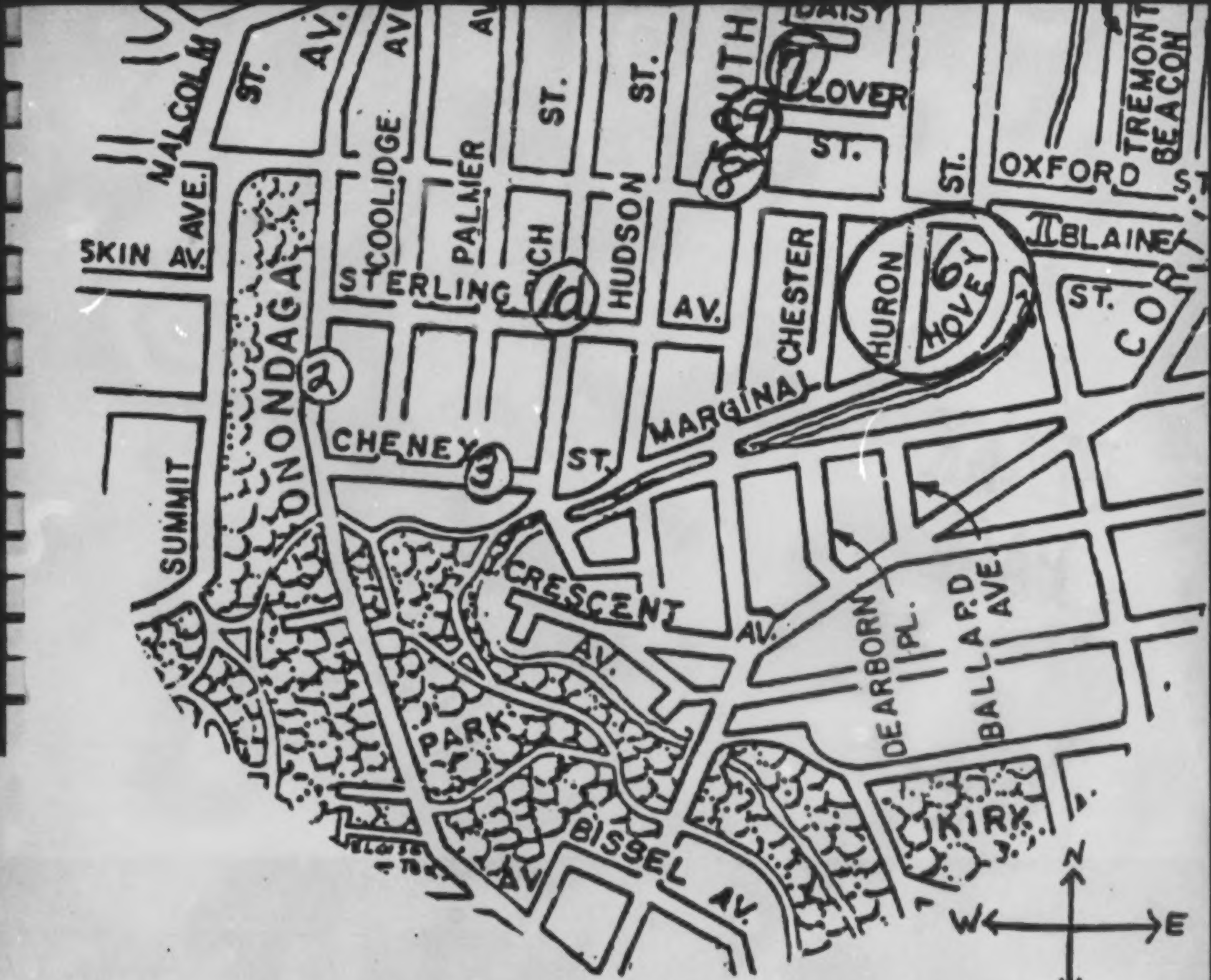
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Tallman-South
Neighborhood Profile *

Direct Observations

Boundaries

The neighborhood known as Tallman-South is defined on the north by Tallman Street.(1) This is a moderately traveled artery connecting a number of major thoroughfares that traverse the city from north to south. The buildings on this street are primarily residential. Many are run down and in serious need of paint, others were partially boarded-up. There are also a couple of empty, glass-strewn lots.

Onondaga Avenue(2) forms the western boundary of the neighborhood. This is a well traveled street along which all structures are residential. The houses here are well kept and spacious. Most have large well manicured front and back yards. Most of the people I observed on this street were white teenagers whose clothing suggested affluence.

Cheney Street(3) forms the southern boundary of the T-S neighborhood. This street too, is entirely residential. The houses nearest Onondaga Avenue are in fairly good shape, but as I traveled further east on this street I noticed that the housing deteriorated significantly.

Midland Avenue(4) makes up the eastern boundary of the T-S neighborhood. It is a much traveled thoroughfare consisting primarily of residential houses and apartment complexes. The houses are very run down and there appears to be broken glass everywhere. The street does not appear to have been cleaned in some time. There are quite a few abandoned houses, several of which appear to have burned.

South Avenue(5) runs north and south through the neighborhood and is the main commercial district. This is a large street with a considerable amount of traffic. The existing businesses along the street do not appear to be flourishing and many storefronts are boarded up. There are a number of residential dwellings in rather advances stages of disrepair interspersed among the business ventures on South Avenue.

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*The authors wish to acknowledge the important contributions made by Eulas Boyd, Liz Kelly, and Mary Maples.

Residential Areas

Almost all of the houses located within the T-S boundaries are in a deteriorated state, needing either serious structural repair or extensive painting. The area east of South Avenue appears to be the most depressed. Here is where most of the abandoned houses and empty lots are located. This section is also characterized by glass-and rubbish-laden streets. West of South Avenue the houses seem to be faring a bit better, although they still exhibit signs of decline. The streets here are much cleaner than they are west of South Avenue, and there are fewer vacant buildings. More people were out and about and their demeanor was much more gregarious.

Onondaga Avenue(2) in the western part of the neighborhood, provides a stark contrast to both of the previously mentioned areas, since most of the residents are obviously affluent. The houses are immaculate, as are the lawns. Late model automobiles are parked on the street and in the driveways. Also, in contrast to the eastern sector, Onondaga Avenue is filled with small groups of white teenagers playing various games in the yards and along the side of the street.

Stuck in a small corner on the southeastern boundary of the T-S neighborhood is what appears to be a predominantly white, rundown section.(6) There is one street that consists almost entirely of abandoned houses. It even appeared that there were people living in at least one of the boarded up buildings. A number of young white children with tattered clothes and soiled faces were playing in the streets. A number of white adults, both male and female, were engaged in moving furniture from a house into vehicles, apparently in the process of changing residence.

Commerical Areas and Businesses

Almost all commercial establishments in the T-S area are found on South Avenue.(5) On this street are a large number of bars and liquor stores and several small businesses can be found on either side of this busy street. There is a dry cleaning plant, a beauty shop, a used furniture store, and a theatre which shows "x-rated" movies.

Aside from these apparently struggling enterprises, there are a large number of boarded up storefronts and huge empty lots covered with broken glass.

Outside of the liquor stores and bars, groups of young Black men were congregated. They were drinking from liquor bottles which were inside brown paper bags.

On South Avenue between Daisy and Clover Streets, is the South-West Community Center.(7) This is a large sprawling two-story modern looking building with few windows. Further south on this street is Merrick School,(8) an old-three story, red brick building with an open area in front which is used as a playground. Adjacent to the school is a small church(9) whose denomination could not be ascertained from the street.

Recreational Centers and Playgrounds

There appeared to be no major outdoor recreational facility in the T-S area. Outdoor facilites are attached to the two day care centers in the neighborhood and to Merrick School.(8) These are small playgrounds with a number of climbing structures, swings, and slides, obviously geared toward young children rather than teenagers or adults.

The South-West Community Center on South Avenue is used primarily by teenagers and all of its facilities must be located indoors because I saw none from the street.

The South-West Daycare Center(10) is located on Rich Street and is a well maintained brick building with a fenced-in play area in front. There were no children in the playground at the time of my observation. However, there were a number of groups of children being taken for walks by employees of the center during my observation. One group of children were watching an old wood-frame house being demolished next door to the center. The center itself appeared quite spacious and bright, sporting large tinted windows on all sides. A number of bright decorations and colorful photographs cut from magazines dressed the windows.

The Southside Daycare Center(7) is located on Clover Street. It is a large one story building with a play area facing the street. The usual assortment of playground apparatus was apparent but was not in use at the time of the observation. The building itself was windowless as viewed from the street. A number of yellow "mini-buses" were parked in an area adjacent to the center. Neither children nor adults were seen in the vicinity of the building. Since I was there in the early afternoon, it may have been "nap-time" for the children.

People

Most of the people encountered in this neighborhood were Black and appeared to be of low or moderate income. The only significant area where affluent people were observed was on Onondaga Avenue; all these people were white.

Most of the people encountered on South Avenue were gathered in clusters near the many liquor stores on that street. These people appeared to be quite "down-and-out," and were given a wide berth by passersby. Most of these men were drinking alcohol from bottles wrapped in brown paper bags, and talking in loud, raucous voices. They were all Black.

On Tallman Street most pedestrians I encountered were Black. On the two occassions that I encountered white people on this street, they appeared to be isolated from the Black residents. All along Tallman Street groups of Black people clustered on porches or around automobiles laughing and chatting. Children rode bicycles and played touch football in the streets.

Generally, people I came across during my observation of the area were friendly, if a bit reserved. Most acknowledged me with a nod or a slight wave although none attempted to engage me in conversation. My overall impression was that this was a cautiously friendly neighborhood. It is my feeling that my being Black had a good deal to do with the sort of reception I experienced.

Demographic Profile of Project Families *

Prior to the collection of data in the Tallman-South inner city neighborhood, it was described as primarily having a low-income Black population. The demographic characteristics of the seventeen families recruited from this area substantiate this description. Of the 17 families in the sample, the majority are Black (n=12), 2 are white, and 3 are interracial. The average family income is $10,673.

Many of these families had not lived in the neighborhood for very long. In fact, ten had lived there for only eighteen months or less, and only three families had lived there for ten years or more. The families seem to be very mobile, thirteen of them having moved within the past four years, an average of almost three times per family. Only three of the families own their own homes. These statistics suggest that the Tallman-South neighborhood is not one which attracts permanent residents.

The sample includes seven women who are single parents and seven married couples. There are also three interracial families, consisting of single women living with partners. Most of the men and women who identified themselves with an organized religion indicated that they are Protestant, while two others are Catholic.

All of the project families here tend to be quite large, having from two to seven children, and the average number of children per family being 3.65. Over half of the families have four or more children.

The women average 29 years of age, and the men 35. The women tend to have a little more education than the men in this sample, but both groups' averages are very low (10.6 and 10.2 years).

Many of the families in the Tallman-South sample are quite poor. In fact, twelve of the seventeen families earn less than $10,000 per year, and ten of those families are on welfare. The other five are Black married couples earning from $16,000 to $24,000 per year. The one Black married couple with a relatively low annual income ($8,700)

* This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

had very little education; the husband in this family is unemployed. The one married white couple in this sample has a very low income ($8,400) compared with the rest of the married couples. Ten families do not own cars. Seven of the men are employed full-time or more and two hold a second job. One man works half-time and two are unemployed. All except one of the employed men work in blue collar jobs. Four of the mothers work, two of them full-time. The working women earn an average of $5,240 per year.

In general, the families in the Tallman-South neighborhood sample appear to have difficulty coping financially. Most of the families are large, undereducated, and poor, with many single parents. Few own their own homes or cars, and most are on welfare. They live in a hostile environment described by the project field staff as "depressing," "a high crime area" and a "hell hole," where many people are "afraid to go out" and tend to "keep to themselves."

The social network material collected from the Tallman-South parents also suggests a neighborhood in which people "keep to themselves." In comparison with the other nine neighborhoods surveyed, these parents report a very low average number of neighbors in their networks for nearly all types of contacts. On the other hand, Tallman-South ranks third in terms of average number of neighbors who are also relatives. As far as number of contacts with neighbors for child-related, practical, or work-related supports, Tallman-South residents rank seventh among the ten program neighborhoods. Respondents are more likely to rely on people they know very well, such as those in their extended family network. If they do turn to a neighbor for support, then that neighbor is probably also a relative.

Respondents' Perceptions

One of the most commonly shared perceptions of the respondents in the Tallman-South Avenue neighborhood is the lack of adequate facilities at which to procure groceries at reasonable prices and at which there is a reasonable expectation of finding what is wanted. Many parents mentioned that there were seveal "necessity stores" nearby, but indicated that they felt these businesses were unacceptable because of high prices and inadequate stock. The perceptions of two representative respondents were as follows:

> This neighborhood doesn't have much. Almost everything is missing. There isn't a decent-sized grocery store. I have to go a very long way to do any kind of shopping.
>
> There are stores around here but there isn't anything in them. There's no meat or many other things...everything (costs) so much money anyway.

In the area of recreational facilities, most of the parents interviewed expressed the feeling that there was a general lack of acceptable programs for their children. Although several respondents mentioned a particular recreation center as being in the neighborhood, the overwhelming majority stated that they would not allow their children to attend this facility because of the lack of supervision and the "wildness" of the teenagers there. Two typical responses were:

> There is some recreation at the 'Southside Center' if you want to go there but it's too wild there. The kids are wild. I don't let my kids go there.
>
> The recreation facilities are here but the staff is underqualified at all the centers.

The respondents who mentioned recreation centers located in the neighborhood or nearby, generally tended to view them as being for male teenagers and felt that this in itself excluded their families.

It should be noted that many parents of pre-teenage children felt that there were no recreation facilities offered to their children in the Tallman-South Avenue neighborhood.

> One thing lacking is recreation. The (Southside) center is close by but they don't have activities for the little children.
>
> I wish there were more areas where the kids could play. There aren't any playgrounds in our neighborhood.

Very few respondents mentioned the parks located on the periphery of the Tallman-South Avenue neighborhood and those who did were generally non-committal, with the exception of one white respondent in this predominantly Black neighborhood:

> I don't to to any of the parks around here. We go all the way to Lincoln Park (about an hour's bus ride and walk away). I have no choice but to (go there) because at that park people won't bother us because we're white. Over there, there are all kinds of people and they don't pick on each other....in the parks around here there is too much going on.

Child care, whether provided by formal day care agencies or by informal arrangements with babysitters and relatives, was thought to be quite good by every respondent interviewed. Out of the 16 parents questioned, 12 rated their child care arrangements as "excellent." The remaining 4 respondents rated these situations as "generally good."

The majority of children in this neighborhood sample were involved in some formal day care situation (11 out of 16 of the respondents indicated such an involvement). This respondent sums up most of the perceptions and feelings of the parents whose children attend day care centers:

> I feel good about (my son) going to day care because it gives him a chance to be around other kids and learn things in school. (He) loves going to day care because he goes places like the circus and to the park. He likes it. He can't wait for the bus to pick him up. I trust the people they have working at the day care center. I mean, I think they are responsible people.

The five respondents who did not use formal day care facilities all relied upon relatives for the greater part of their child care needs. The relative most often mentioned in regard to child care was the respondent's mother or mother-in-law. Every respondent who used these relatives spoke very postively of the experience.

> My mother (is very important to me). She's just great! If I need someone to take care of my kids, she's always there.
>
> Who else could be a better babysitter than a grandmother. They love kids. It's good because it helps me do the things I want to do. When something comes up she's always there to keep (my son) for a while...She's my mother, I love having her take care of (my child).
>
> (My son) loves staying with his grandmother. They've always been close...(She's) my mother so I feel good.

The issue of safety within the neighborhood was of concern to many of the respondents in the Tallman-South Avenue area. Of the parents expressing concern about safety, the majority were most apprehensive about harm coming to their children. Some respondents worried about the number of "derelicts" that they viewed as being prevalent on South Avenue (the main street of the neighborhood). All three of the white respondents in this neighborhood expressed the belief that the neighborhood was unsafe for them primarily because of their race. Although there may be some truth to these perceptions, there appears to be a good deal of evidence that by and large their experiences and fears do not significantly differ from those of the majority of Black respondents. A number of the parents interviewed mentioned teenagers as the source of the greatest amount of anxiety about safety in the neighborhood. These respondents spoke of "roving bands" of teenagers who were "hanging out," "just looking for trouble."

The following are a number of comments by respondents indicating the various sources and areas of concern about danger in the neighborhood:

> I'm afraid for (my daughter) to play outside alone because of the 'bums' around here.
>
> We're not that safe. I don't think we're that safe. There are a lot of criminals on the southside. We mostly stay in the house and keep to ourselves.
>
> (My children) can only play in the front yard and there are only two families that they are allowed to visit. They can't even play in their own back yard because it's like a 'thruway.' People use it like it was another street corner...Around here, everything in the world goes on...robbery, rape, dope-everything!

> This isn't a very safe neighborhood. There's a lot of young people roaming the streets at night. There's a lot of drug traffic in the neighborhood, too. We never let out kids outside by themselves, not even in the daytime.
>
> It's rough sometimes. I can't send (my child) out to play on her own because the kids knock her down and punch her...maybe it's because she is the only white kid around here. On warm days it is real bad because (my daughter) begs me to let her go outside and I can only let her out if I go with her. It bothers me a lot. I don't think that they would hurt her really bad but I still worry.

And a Black respondent states:

> I just keep my kids close to the house. It's not very good (around here). There are a lot of shootings and things going on around here. I don't let my kids out in this neighborhood. A couple of weeks ago there was a kid around here who threw a baby into the creek!

Two other respondents commented:

> This neighborhood is pretty dangerous as far as crime is concerned. The adults who live here are very cautious and keep to themselves because all kinds of people 'hang out' in this neighborhood. The kids don't mind at all, they know everybody and aren't afraid but the grownups are. (They are afraid of) kids in the neighborhood, teenagers who 'hang out all day in the streets.
>
> I worry about the neighborhood because it's very dangerous. I can never let (my son) out...(the Black children) constantly pick on my kids because they're white.

One respondent seemed to voice the feelings of a great many parents in this area:

> I'm always hearing police sirens in the middle of the night. I worry about the kids. I often just want to go away - move - just be someplace else. But I don't have the money to move.

Despite these rather gloomy perceptions of the neighborhood, there were six respondents who felt fairly safe. These respondents generally were people who knew a number of people in the area and who had lived in the neighborhood for some time.

> I've been here three years and I've never had any trouble, so I guess I'm safe. I don't think there is any danger, really, unless the creek overflows. (There is a large creek that runs through the neighborhood and sometimes floods surrounding areas.)
>
> I feel secure because I've lived in this area for so long and believe people won't harm me or my family...if I didn't know the people I'd be scared because this part of town has a bad reputation. But as I said, we feel safe. I'm close to a lot of people here and we trust each other.
>
> I feel safe around here. My mother lives in the next block and so do a lot of my relatives. It's all right.

A few respondents appeared unconcerned about the issue of safety as did the respondent who told an interviewer:

> I don't worry about safety but I guess the area is not considered very safe.

Others adopted a cynical attitude:

> As far as crime is concerned, this location is as good as any other because you could be robbed anywhere you live.

One feisty respondent stated:

> As far as crime, two houses on this street have been broken into recently. But there's somebody here all the time in my house, so we feel pretty safe. Nobody would want to break into this house unless they wanted to get shot!

Two other safety related issues brought up by respondents were those of traffic patterns and abandoned houses. Two respondents who were concerned about traffic problems had this to say:

> ...the cars speed through here like crazy. Kids are always getting hit by cars.
>
> Sometimes when there's a heavy snowfall cars are parked so tightly on this one way street that emerging vehicles can't get through. I think that's a hazard. If there's a fire or something we'd be in trouble. The cops should ticket people more.

A respondent who was concerned about the growing number of abandoned houses in the neighborhood told an interviewer:

> I wish they would board up some of these old houses because it can be dangerous for kids...you know kids are going to play in empty houses.

The issue of whether or not there were enough children in the neighborhood for the respondents' children to play with did not appear to be a significant one, since only one parent mentioned this as something that was important. Most respondents seemed to think it more appropriate to limit their child's contact with other children in the neighborhood than to seek out playmates.

The majority of respondents in the Tallman-South Avenue neighborhood stated that they were satisfied with their housing situation. Most cited the presence of a sizeable yard, internal spaciousness, and the amount of privacy as contributing to satisfaction with the housing situation:

> We have enough space. We have a back yard which is what I like the best. The kids are not cooped up all the time like they were in my old neighborhood.
>
> We have four bedrooms and a large back yard so we have enough space. When the kids get on my nerves I can always go into another room and close the door.
>
> We have a back yard and that makes it ideal for the kids because they don't have to play on the sidewalks or in the streets.
>
> We all love (this house). (My daughter) loves it here because she's got all the space. We all have lots of room. If I want to talk to my mother and want some privacy, I can just go upstairs. Also, since it's a house and not an apartment...I don't have to worry about the neighbors and their noise...I can always get away from (my children's) noise by putting them in a room upstairs.

Of the respondents who felt that their housing situation was not satisfactory, most lived in apartments and the sources of these respondents' displeasure were the absence of precisely those things which satisfied other respondents. Apartment dwellers in the sample reported additional souces of stress and unhappiness such as unreliable and uncooperative landlords, as well as the presence of mice and other vermin. Below, five renters describe their housing situation:

> The complex is too close to the streets and there is no play area within the complex itself...it is a little too crowded.
>
> If I ever move I hope I get a bigger place. (My kids) have to sleep on the couch. That's a drag.
>
> There is no privacy at all. Everybody is in everybody else's business. People (are) always watching to see who (is) coming into your house. I don't like that.
>
> The landlord takes his own sweet time about fixing things...the landlord is bad becasue he doesn't do repairs when it's needed. The house is falling apart.
>
> I have roaches and mice...the superintendent of the building is bad at fixing things, he takes his time.

Most respondents felt that they were paying reasonable rent for their dwellings, however almost all respondents stated that heat and utility bills were a great hardship for them. One respondent had this to say about the situation:

> This is a good apartment in terms of rent. I only pay $140 a month. It's the heat bills that kill me. Niagara Mohawk is threatening to turn my heat off. Last week I turned the heat down and...my baby got sick...I don't think Niagara Mohawk should be allowed to just turn off people's heat. I know I owe them $70 but I still think that it's wrong.

In terms of finances most families seem to be somewhat hard-pressed to make ends meet. The best that most families in this neighborhood seem to be doing is typified by the statement of this respondent from a family in which both spouses are working:

> We do pretty well with both of us working. (There are) no major problems at all.

However, most respondents are less fortunate, particularly those who must rely upon "welfare" of one kind or another:

> Welfare doesn't give me enough but what can I do? So far we have been able to keep our heads above water...I am really careful with the money, I always make sure we have enough to eat. We could use more money, but they're just not going to give it to us.

> I use welfare and foodstamps. I feel embarassed to say this but welfare doesn't give me enough money. After I pay the rent, I hardly have anything left over -- but the food stamps are great.

> The only income we have is welfare, so we are on a budget. I seem to always run out of money...Sometimes I have to borrow money from my friends to tide me over until 'check day'.

> Every time I turn around the kids seem to need something. Right now they both need winter coats and boots but welfare don't take that into consideration. They just give me the same amount of money...Last night I couldn't sleep because I was worrying about whether or not I could get them warm clothes before winter comes...Money is always a problem around here. Not enough to buy the things we need and not enough to buy the things we'd like. I spend more time worrying about our money situation than anything else.

Many non-welfare families in this neighborhood sample also expressed some dissatisfaction with their financial condition:

> We're coping but it's a struggle from month to month with the bills. We manage but we have to work very hard...At least we have enough for the basics like food, rent, and clothes. If it's a mild winter I'll be happy.

(The respondent here alludes to the rising cost of heating one's home.)

> Right now I'd say we're keeping our head above water but we have to watch every dollar carefully.

A number of respondents, both on and off welfare, cite the Food Stamp Program as a significant contribution to their "making ends meet." "Welfare," however is often seen as unsensitive and intrusive:

> I really feel that I'm being 'ripped-off' by Social Services. Every check I get from (them) is a little

> smaller. They never explain why. They just keep chopping off a little bit. They send me a bunch of papers that don't make any sense but they never explain anything.
>
> Welfare is all right, but they definitely don't give you enough to live on. Food Stamps are real important because without those you just couldn't make it.
>
> I don't like being on welfare. I would rather work for my money. I don't like people telling me what to do. (Food Stamps) are nice (however). We have extra money for little odds and ends like detergent and utensils.

Most families interviewed in the Tallman-South Avenue area used public clinics and felt that there was good and reliable medical care available at various facilities throughout the city. Of the 16 respondents interviewed, 11 used public clinics, one used both public clinic and a private doctor, and the remaining 4 used private doctors exclusively. All respondents stated that they felt good about the facilities.

Apparently, organizations and service agencies do not enjoy much favor in the Tallman-South Avenue neighborhood because only one respondent reported utilizing any agency other than day care centers. This respondent spoke of a counselling agency located in a community center in the neighborhood.

> The Family Service Program at the Southside Multi-Purpose Center has been a big help. When I have personal problems, there's someone there I can talk to. They're also helping me find out if my landlord is cheating me.

Transportation did not appear to pose a problem for any of the respondents in this neighborhood, although the majority of respondents did not own cars. Most mentioned that there were two or three bus routes accessible to them. Despite the fact that these respondents did not associate their lack of personal transportation with any problems they might have as a family, it should be noted that these families were among those who complained of not having access to lower prices and greater selection available at supermarkets.

Almost all respondents in the Tallman-South Avenue neighborhood felt that the area in general had become quite run down and that the commercial district on South

Avenue was the source of greatest concern. These respondents felt that the large number bars and liquor stores, along with the "drunks" and "derelicts" that seemed to be fixtures outside these establishments, constituted a hazard to their children, both physically and morally. Outside of a unanimous dislike for the "street people" in this particular area, the respondents' feelings and attitudes toward their neighbors and other people in the neighborhood were somewhat varied.

Many respondents expressed a laissez faire attitude toward their neighbors, stating that they kept pretty much to themselves and did not actively engage in getting to know people who lived around them. A number of the parents interviewed said that they did not know anyone in their immediate neighborhood.

> I don't know anyone around here...I guess I'm just not one to get out much.

The respondents who gave this response were not, however, neutral. Most expressed the tacit feeling that the neighborhood was, after all, a somewhat hostile and dangerous one and that sequestering oneself was one way of surviving. This underlying apprehension seems to be succinctly expressed by the woman who stated:

> I don't bother them and they don't bother me.

There was one respondent who felt that the neighborhood had no redeeming values whatsoever. This was a single young woman raising five children by herself and living in a deteriorating house on a block composed primarily of run down dwellings. The street is strewn with broken glass and appeared not to have been cleaned in quite some time. It was this woman's feeling that

> It's not a very good neighborhood. It's the grown ups most of the time. They raise a lot of 'sand'. It's bad enough when the kids get into fights without having grown-ups getting involved...right now I'm looking for someplace else to live. I can't take it anymore!

All three of the white respondents in this sample felt that the neighborhood was hostile towards them because of their race. These families stated that they had little or nothing to do with their neighbors. Two of these respondents claimed that their children had been "beat-up" by Black children because of the racial difference. None of these respondents related any instances of violence or intimidation at the hands of Black adults. Whether or not these perceptions by white respondents are accurate is not easily determined, because a number of Black respondents report similar experiences at the hands of other Black residents of the neighborhood.

There were several respondents who felt comfortable in the neighborhood and even enjoyed the experience. These people lived in various parts of the neighborhood so it would seem that their perceptions are not based on being located in any geographic area. The two respondents who felt most positive about their neighborhood have lived in the area for a number of years. This respondent has lived here for 16 years:

> It's a nice place to live if you know the people...I've been living here long enough to get to know quite a few. If you don't know the people, it can be rough -- lonely and cold.

And this respondent for three years:

> I like living here. I think it's a nice neighborhood to live in. I'm friends with most of the people (here). It's a (racially) mixed neighborhood and that counts when you've got "mixed" kids...I feel that if you've got "mixed" kids, they should be brought up in a neighborhood where there are white families and Black families together. This way the kids won't grow up to be prejudiced one way or the other.

It would appear from the responses of the majority of parents interviewed that many people depend a great deal on relatives for support; every respondent in the sample relied upon a relative as a primary souce of babysitting. Many felt that having access to extended family members resulted in an enhancement of the quality of their lives:

> My aunt is really important. She really makes life easier (for us). She's always there. I can go to her for anything.
>
> My kid's grandmother is important because she sometimes buys them clothes and takes care of them. That makes it easier for me.

My mother...helps out by always being there for us. She gives good advice and really cares.

NEDROW:

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

Besty Edinger

Ann Pitkin

KEY: NEDROW

1. Northern Boundary: Stonefield Road and Southland Drive

2. Green Hills Farms Shopping Plaza. Stores included in the plaza are a large drugstore, supermarket, lawn and garden center, K-Mart, meat shop, liquor supermarket, beauty salon, floral shop, women's fashion shop, Radio Shack, and a fabric shop. There is also a bank and credit-lending institution located amidst the stores.

3. Southern Boundary: W. Conklin Avenue and Randall Street

4. Private airport and the beginning of the Onondaga Indian Reservation.

5. Eastern Boundary: Marshlands

6. Interstate 81

7. Western Boundary: Onondaga Creek

8. Bridge over Onondaga Creek at Dorwin Avenue. Only access to playground for people living in northern half of neighborhood

9. Utility power station

10. Kelly Park playground

11. S. Salina Street

12. Small businesses located in people's homes

13. Small pockets of housing along Salina Street

14. Comme[illegible]l establishments along Salina Street

15. Family in sample who moved 5 miles south of Nedrow

16A. Large supermarket

16B. Large drugstore

17. Gas stations

18. Bank

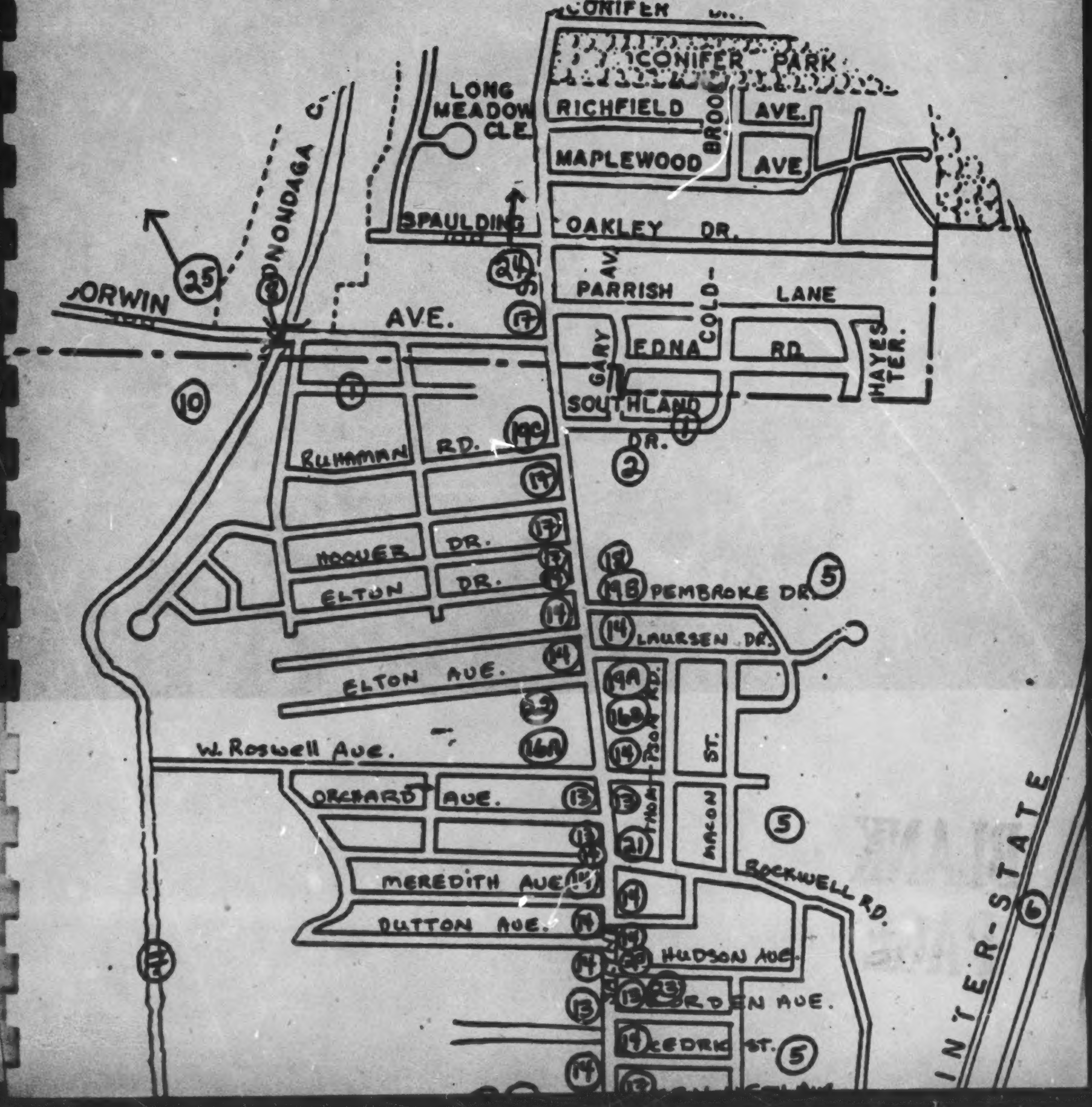
19. Restaurants
    A. McDonald's
    B. Pizza Hut
    C. The Inn

20. Post Office

21. Fire department

22. Laundry facilities: laundromat and drycleaners

NEDROW


CONIFER DR.
CONIFER PARK
LONG MEADOW CLE.
RICHFIELD AVE.
MAPLEWOOD AVE.
BROOK
ONONDAGA C.
SPAULDING
OAKLEY DR.
25
24
PARRISH LANE
AV.
COLD-
CORWIN AVE.
17
GARY
EDNA RD.
HAYES TER.
10
1
SOUTHLAND DR.
1
19C
RUHMAN RD.
2
17
17
HOOVER DR.
ELTON DR.
18
19B
PEMBROKE DR.
5
14
LAURSEN DR.
14
ELTON AVE.
19A
16B
22
W. Roswell Ave.
16A
14
ST.
ORCHARD AVE.
13
13
MACON
5
21
13
MEREDITH AVE.
14
ROCKWELL RD.
19
DUTTON AVE.
19
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HUDSON AVE.
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BORDEN AVE.
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CEDRIC ST.
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INTER-STATE
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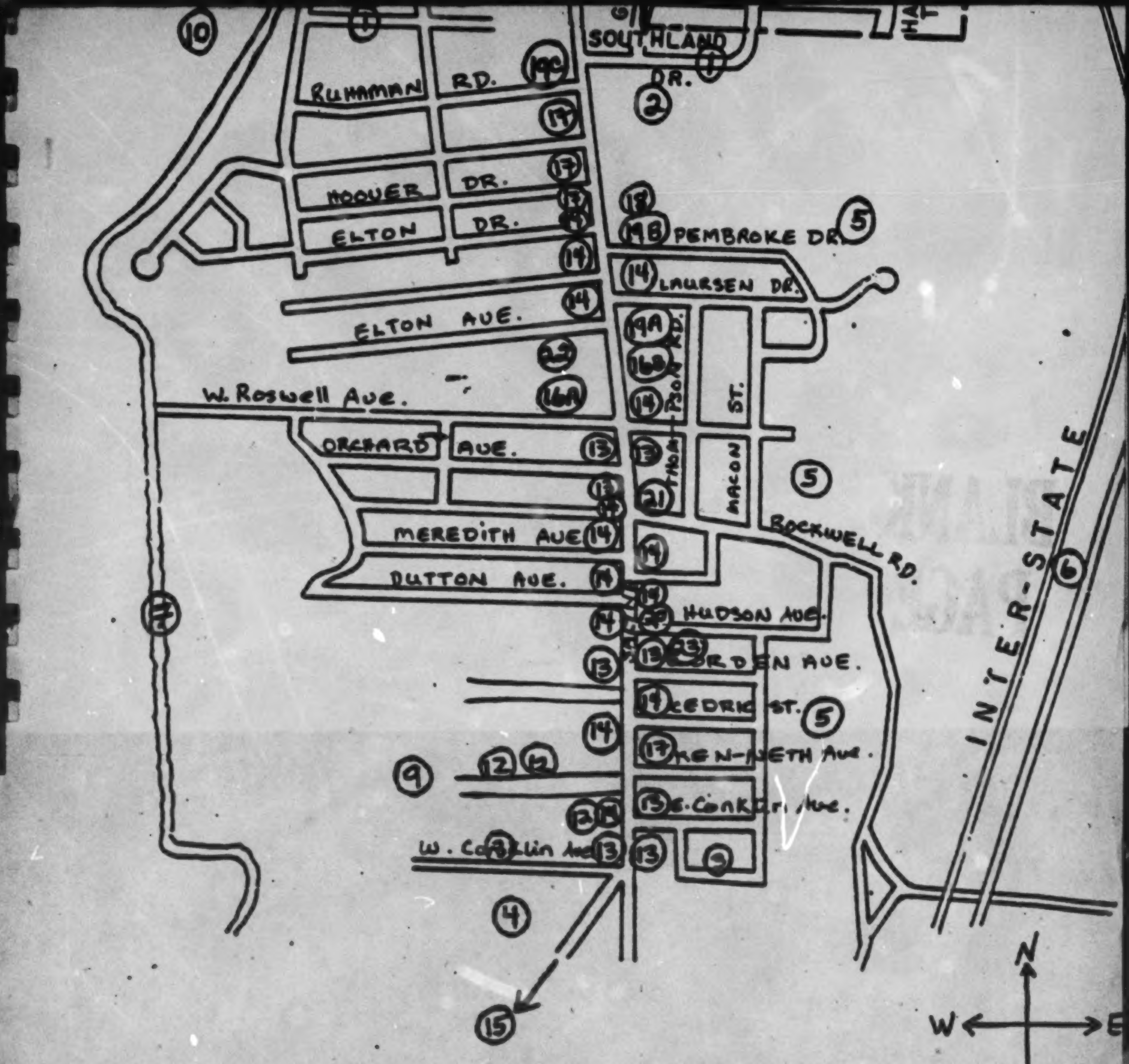
41


SOUTHLAND
DR.
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W. Roswell Ave.
ORCHARD AVE.
MEREDITH AVE
DUTTON AVE.
PEMBROKE DR.
LAURSEN DR.
MACON ST.
ROCKWELL RD.
HUDSON AVE.
BORDEN AVE.
CEDRIC ST.
KENNETH AVE.
E. Conklin Ave.
W. Conklin Ave
INTER-STATE
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19A
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S

23. Church - Assembly of God

24. Church - Catholic

25. Church - Presbyterian

26. Rockwell Elementary School and Playground

Nedrow
Neighborhood Profile*

Direct Observations

Neighborhood Boundaries

The boundaries of the neighborhood known as Nedrow surround a small community of homes, commercial areas, and wooded lands. A sense of transition from country to city characterizes this suburban neighborhood.

The northern boundary(1) is made up of two streets: Stonefield Road(1) and Southland Drive.(1) Stonefield Road is a dead end, residential street that carries very little traffic. Southland Drive is slightly more traveled and is adjacent to Green Hills Farms,(2) a shopping mall that has the largest concentration of stores in the area. To the north of this boundary are more residential areas that extend towards downtown.

The southern boundary is made up of two residential streets: W. Conklin Avenue(3) and Randall Street.(3) To the south of W. Conklin Ave. lie the open fields and small runway(4) of a private airport. The more rural community of the Onondaga Indian Reservation(4) also lies just to the south of the Nedrow area. Some evidence of country life remains on these two streets. The houses are spaced far apart and several barns are still standing. Behind one of these barns is a large-fenced in area for horses. Newspaper boxes, typical of rural delivery, stand in front of the houses on W. Conklin and Randall. The rural atmosphere of Nedrow is enhanced by little evidence of housing to the south and the presence of rolling hills to the east and west of the valley in which the neighborhood lies.

To the east, the residential streets are bordered by a low-lying marsh area(5) that quickly gives way to a wooded hillside. This protects the people living in this area from the sights and sounds of the interstate(6) on the other side of the hill.

Onondaga Creek(7) is the western boundary of the neighborhood. The creek is dangerous because of its fast moving current and the fact that it has no fence to separate it from the residential areas. This would be a particular problem for people living in the north-west corner of the neighborhood because the creek passes so close to their homes. Evidence that children do venture very close to the creek is found under a bridge(8) that passes over the creek at Dorwin Avenue. Graffitti, mostly a mixture of names, are printed all over the bridge foundations. The creek is less of a problem to the south because it is separated from the residential areas by a wooded area. One possible cause of concern for residents down here is a large power station(9) that borders the residential area. A chain that crosses the road and a sign, "DANGER: HIGH VOLTAGE WITHIN" bars access to this area. Onondaga Creek separates the neighborhood from Kelly Park,(10) which is the only playground in the area besides the one at the local elementary school.

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* The authors wish to thank Eulas Boyd, Liz Keily, and Mary Maples for their help in preparing this profile.

Internal Divisions

South Salina Street,(11) which cuts through the center of the neighborhood, is basically a commercial district where all of the businesses in the area are located, except a few small ones housed in people's homes(12) Law offices, a welding shop, and a saw sharpening business are examples of this kind of business. A few pockets of homes(13) line this section of Salina Street, but they are dwarfed by the many commercial establishments.(14) Salina is a four lane road that carries heavy traffic to the stores in the area. It also is a main artery that cuts through the entire city and passes through downtown Syracuse. Because of the commercial establishments and the heavy traffic, Salina effectively divides the neighborhood in half.

Areas that include one or more side streets are often isolated from one another because there are no streets that connect them besides South Salina Street. This would make it difficult for potential playmates to get together without the involvement of an older person to watch for traffic.

We also had one family who moved to the country,(15) five miles south of Nedrow, during the interviewing process. She lives in a rural area and her perceptions of her 'neighborhood' would be expected to be quite different.

Residential areas

Moving away from Salina Street in any direction one notices a quick change from a commmerical to a residential atmosphere. Most of the homes appear to be occupied by one family. The style of housing differs in the northern and southern sections of the neighborhood; in the northern part are newer Cape Cod or ranch-style homes, as one moves south there is an increasing number of older two-story wood structures. These larger, older homes become predominant at the southern end of the neighborhood.

Each house in the neighborhood appears to have the use of its own backyard. These vary in size from smaller more regular plots to irregular and generally larger amounts of land around the houses in the southern part of the area. Every yard has more than adequate room for children's play and family recreation. Frequently, the yards have swingsets, barbeque grills, and picnic tables. A number of families have above-ground swimming pools, and occasionally, I saw hanging tires from tree limbs to provide a swing. Many yards also serve as storage space for recreational vehicles. Numerous boats, campers, and snowmobiles were seen parked alongside or behind the houses.

The space between houses also varies in size, but there was always sufficient distance so that privacy would not appear to be a problem. On some of the older homes, one or more porches are attached and most houses have garages. Many also have separate tool sheds for storage.

With a few exceptions, the condition of the housing and upkeep of property seemed very good. Lots that do not have houses on them do not have the appearance of abandonment because often these lots are merely wooded areas left undeveloped. Along with the older trees that line many of the streets, these wooded areas enhance the appearance of the neighborhood.

There was no litter at the time of observation. The few houses which appeared slightly damaged showed signs of deterioration due to the weather, and most often only needed to be painted or have sagging porches fixed.

Traffic was at a bare minimum on most of these side streets. Those streets that directly cross Salina Street tended to have a few more cars on them, but the dead-end streets had none except for vehicles of people making deliveries and of the people who lived there. One indication of light traffic are the many basketball hoops posted along the road by various families. Children would have to be in the street to play the game. These streets were well lit, but often had no sidewalks.

Few signs were posted on peoples' property. No "FOR SALE" signs were seen and only a few "BEWARE OF DOG" signs. Graffitti have been written on some commerical buildings and on a bridge that crosses Onondaga Creek. Graffitti mostly appear to be the work of teenagers declaring their love for a certain individual or proclaiming their favorite rock group.

There were many American flags flying outside peoples homes. It is difficult to discern if this is a regular occurence because the observation was done on the days surrounding the inauguaration of a new president and the release of the American hostages from Iran.

Commercial Areas

Commercial establishments in the Nedrow area are limited, with few exceptions (see above), to the main artery that cuts through the center of the neighborhood, S. Salina Street. The largest concentration of stores is located in the Green Hills(2) shopping plaza, where there is a large drug store, a supermarket, a lawn and garden center, K-Mart, a meat shop, a liquor "supermarket," a beauty salon, a floral shop, a small women's fashion shop, "Radio Shack," a fabric shop, a bank and a credit and lending institution.

Although is is no great distance to the southern end of the neighborhood, another large supermarket(16a) and a drugstore(16b) are located a few blocks closer to people living there. A variety of gas stations,(17) another bank,(18) and restaurants(19) ("McDonald's,"(19A) "Pizza Hut,"(19B) and for more formal dining, "The Inn"(19C)) are intermixed with the various businesses.

Various services including the post office,(20) fire department,(21) a laundromat,(22) and a dry cleaning establishment also are along S. Salina. The bus stops at each corner as it makes its way to and from downtown. The only local church, Assembly of God,(23) located within the defined boundaries is also on S. Salina. A Catholic(24) and a Presbyterian church(25) are both within a 10 minute drive from the neighborhood. Rockwell Elementary school(26) is located just off Salina Street in the center of the neighborhood.

In addition, there are a variety of businesses including: trailer sales, interior decorators, a motel, a saddle shop, a tree nursery, an ice cream drive-in, a furniture store, and a photo-studio. All of these businesses are in good physical condition and appear to be thriving.

Services

There are no services located in this neighborhood other than those mentioned along the commercial area of S. Salina Street. The fire station, along with it's primary function of firefighting, houses a limited medical clinic which primarily provides immunizations. This facility is a well-child clinic held every two weeks. It is staffed by a doctor and a nurse from the Onondaga County Health Department. The clinic treats children from birth through five years. This is one of the few settings in the neighborhood where mothers with young children meet each other. From time to time the fire station holds benefit dinners and weekly Bingo games.

Rockwell School(26) holds a story-hour once a week for pre-schoolers in the area. The school gym is open to the public for a few hours on the weekends.

The only formal pre-K environment available to Nedrow residents is a paid nursery school in the basement of the Presbyterian church(25) several miles from the neighborhood. Transportation to the nursery school is not provided.

Recreation Centers and Playgrounds

The lack of recreational facilities in the neighborhood was one of the most frequently cited complaints that respondents had. The only playground(26) actually located within the defined boundaries is at the elementary school. It is relatively small, but the swings and climbing apparatus are in good condition. Busy traffic separates this playground from those people living on the western side of Salina Street.

A larger playground is located in Kelly Park.(10) on the opposite side of Onondaga Creek near the northwest corner of this neighborhood. The playground has swingsets, slides, and climbing apparatus and lies adjacent to a large field where baseball or football could be played. The condition of the park is excellent and a tall fence lines the creek banks on the opposite side, but not on the Nedrow side. Access to the park requires crossing the bridge at Dorwin Avenue, probably the busiest road in the area, other than Salina Street. This hazard together with the unfenced portion of the creek lining the residential section would make access to the park difficult for young children.

The lack of recreational areas in the neighborhood is probably not as much of a problem here as in other areas because of the individual space available to people on porches and in yards. There is more available open space in the form of wooded areas and fields that surround much of the southern section. Since traffic is minimal, the streets could be used by older children for play.

People

The activity on Salina Street is quickly left behind on all of the side streets in the neighborhood and the peacefulness of a stable, residential community prevails.

In warm weather, one would expect to see children out, playing basketball or playing in the yards. As it was, I saw young children only in the company of their parents walking along the street. I observed older children and teenagers walking home from school.

These were people of all ages in the neighborhood, mostly walking along the street or shovelling out their driveways. (Most waved hello as I walked by.) Although observations were mainly done during working hours, I did notice a surprising number of middle-aged men around the neighborhood. Perhaps, since Nedrow is mainly a working class neighborhood, this phenomenon might be attributable to shift work or to recent lay-offs at many local companies.

Everyone I encountered in the residential areas was white. There were a few Blacks and native Americans in some of the stores and walking along Salina Street. These proportions are also characteristic of our sample in which we have one Black family and fourteen white ones.

A number of people were seen outside their homes, mostly taking care of their own property or on an errand of some sort. Occasionally they would stop for a short chat with a neighbor or the mailman. Even when groups of teenagers were coming home from school, there was nothing that anyone was doing that could be considered disruptive to others. At least at this time of year, a quiet peacefulness best describes the activity in the neighborhood.

Demographic Profile of Project Families *

Before families were recruited for the research project, Nedrow was characterized as a suburban, middle-income, non-ethnic white neighborhood. Demographic and background information about the families subsequently recruited validites these characterizations.

The fifteen families that constitute our sample in Nedrow are white, with the exception of one single Black mother who lives with her own parents and her three children. There are ten married couples and five single mothers, three of whom live with their parents, and one with a male friend. The one remaining single mother lives alone with her children.

Two families in the sample listed no religious affiliation, one family belongs to the Jehovah's Witnesses, and the remainder are equally divided between Catholic and Protestant affiliations. Many respondents describe their ethnic identity as "American," but there were a few exceptions. Six families labelled themselves as English, one as Canadian, one as Irish and one as Afro-American.

The mothers in the sample are, by and large, in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties while the average age of the fathers is a few years more. In comparison with some other program neighborhoods, Nedrow families are larger. The average number of children per family is three; only one family has a single child; ten families have three or more children.

These statistics suggest a group of settled families who are beyond the "starting out stage" of family development. This concept is further borne out by the figures on housing and length of residence in the neighborhood. Twelve of the parents own their own single-family homes; the three who rent are single parents. Most of the families have lived in Nedrow for five years or longer, although three single mothers have been there six months or less and report several moves in the preceding four years.

The income, occupational, and educational information about the families in the sample indicates the vast majority have high school educations and that the fathers

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*This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

work primarily in white collar jobs. Four of the ten fathers work more than 40 hours a week. Four of the married women and three of the single ones are employed. The former tend to be in white collar jobs (three of the four), while the single mothers work in blue collar jobs. The figures on total family income show that there are four families with incomes below $10,000 a year; three of these are single parents (four of the five single parents receive welfare assistance). There are six families with annual incomes between $10,000 and $20,000. Five families have incomes over $20,000. The average income of the two-parent families in the sample is $17,734.

In sum, The Nedrow families in the sample tend to be in the middle stages of child-rearing: the parents are in their late twenties and thirties and typically have several children. These parents own their homes, earn close to $18,000 a year, and have lived in the neighborhood for several years.

All but one of the single parents in the sample live in multi-adult households. All the single parents and the one two-parent family with an income below $10,000 are relatively poor in the context of this neighborhood. A consequence, some services available to lower income families are not offered to Nedrow residents.

The social network material collected from the sample families shows that among program neighborhoods, Nedrow parents have the fourth largest number of neighbors in their networks. However, when one examines the number of Nedrow neighbors who are also members of the parents' primary networks, Nedrow falls to ninth place. This lack of emphasis on neighborhood contacts is further pointed up by the relative number of neighborhood contacts the families reported for child-related, practical, financial and emotional support. The overall neighborhood means suggest that Nedrow parents are less likely to turn to neighbors for these things than families in other program neighborhoods.

Respondents' Perceptions

The people of Nedrow give the impression that they are happy living where they do. Generally, they feel that their neighborhood is a safe and desirable place to raise children and that it also provides the necessary conveniences of everyday life. This attitude is reflected in respondents' ratings of the neighborhood; all but one person rated the neighborhood as "generally good" or "excellent." The one exception was a low income woman who rated it "more good than bad," citing the lack of services, daycare, and urban renewal programs.

When respondents were asked to define the boundaries of their neighborhood, they did so in very different ways. Few respondents placed the boundaries more than several blocks away from their homes. Although there was no common or strong identification expressed about the area, people felt that they shared with their neighbors a common concern for their homes and for providing a good environment in which to bring up children.

Access to Commercial Services

Most of the respondents used the Green Hills Shopping plaza area for general shopping, although a few who lived toward the southern end of the neighborhood preferred to use another large grocery store and drug store located closer to them. Respondents considered the Green Hills shopping district to be very important in meeting their general shopping needs. People felt that the shopping areas were within walking distance, making it easier to pick up medicine or a few items if need be. The fact that most stores are on South Salina Street and not interspersed within the residential sections was also appreciated. A typical observation was, "I'm close to (the) stores and yet not too close, like in the city." However, two women did not feel that local commerical areas met all of their shopping needs. One of these women felt the lack of a department store.She said it was inconvenient for her to have to catch a bus downtown with her children for this type of shopping. Another woman felt that she had quite a distance to travel to shop.

This mother had recently moved to a home in the country approximately five miles to the south of Nedrow.

Recreational Areas

Recreational areas and centers posed much more of a problem for people living in this neighborhood than for people in other areas. There is a park and playground (Kelly Park[10]) along the western border of the neighborhood that is easily accessible to most respondents, but three families live on the opposite side of Salina Street and have to cross it to get to the park. Despite the park's convenient location, only three people mentioned that they used it. These parents accompanied their children or else allowed them to take part in supervised summer recreational programs offered by the city's park service. The biggest problem with the park involved a concern for the safety of children; Onondaga Creek flows swiftly along the border of the park, and parents complained that there was no fence to stop children from venturing too close to the dangerous current. From time to time, local newspapers have reported drownings of adults and children who have fallen into the creek. Most parents were well aware of this and would not allow their children to go unaccompanied to the park to play. The creek, not traffic or street violence, was considered the greatest hazard in the neighborhood.

Since everyone had a back yard, the need for recreational areas for young children was diminished. Furthermore, the local elementary school provides some free recreational programs for children.

> The neighborhood is good for the children. On Saturday, the school is open for two hours, so the kids can use the facilities; gym and playground.
>
> Rockwell School is close and they have storytime every Wednesday that (my daughter) just loves to go to. I know all the teachers -- they know my kids and I feel good about that.

Recreation for adults and especially teenagers was much more of a concern for respondents. There had been talk of building a youth center, but no action had been taken. Parents often had to drive their older children to recreational facilities and when respondents were asked what was missing in their neighborhood, they often cited lack of places for their teenagers to go.

> I'd like to see a bowling alley or a family movie theater within walking distance, so as the kids got older, they would have recreation centers within walking distance where they could go and they would be safer closeby.

Although no specific incidents were reported by respondents concerning problems with teenagers (i.e., vandalism, drugs), a general concern was voiced that their inactivity might eventually result in problems. For people who did not have access to a car, the unavailability of the recreational areas intensified their concern. "If you don't have a car, your kids don't get to do anything. Kids wouldn't get into so much trouble."

Pre-School Programs

A small minority of children attended pre-kindergarten facilities. One of these families managed to find enough money to send their daughter to a paid nursery school housed in the basement of a church. This mother was very satisfied with the exposure her child was getting to other children and to learning activities. Two other families had their children picked up by a bus to take them to a daycare facility in the city about 5 miles away. Both of these parents had to fight eligibility requirements to get their children into the facility. Complaints were also made that the bus was often late or, at times, never showed up often causing these people to have to make last minute alterations in their plans.

One of the mothers who stated that she was not prejudiced, felt that because her children were the only white kids in the class at the daycare center, problems were arising. She said that they only served "soul food" and because her children didn't like it, they would have to go hungry until they came home. She also felt that it was creating some problems with her children's view of Black people:

> (My son) came back one day and said "that school's for Black kids." I teach them not to be prejudiced, but they feel different.

Despite these problems, both women were happy with the quality of care their children received and the fact that the center allowed them to get "a break" from their kids.

Child care Arrangements

Five respondents expressed a need to have a daycare facility in the area. These people did not have low enough incomes to be eligible for daycare facilities in the city, nor did they have the extra money to be able to send their children to a paid nursery school. Parents' main concern was to get their children into a situation that would help prepare them for school entry. Several felt that if they had a few hours each day away from their children, it would allow them to get more done around the house and relieve them of certain parenting pressures brought by never having any time for themselves. One single parent said, "I could use ...daycare nearby. It would give me a lot more freedom and maybe I could to go work."

People in this neighborhood relied heavily on informal care arrangements, usually from relatives. Parents who could count on the help of members of the immediate family or on relatives who lived nearby were the most satisfied with the quantity and quality of the care. All but three respondents relied heavily on relatives in this regard. Exchanging responsibilities with a neighbor often served as a back up for times when relatives were not available. Occasionally for a weekend night out people relied on neighborhood teenagers. Two people who did not rely on relatives or exchange with neighbors regularly paid teenagers to watch their children. With one exception, parents were not satisfied with the quality or reliability of these sitters; they would often worry when they left their children. Parents in this situation offer a sharp contrast to those parents who could leave their children with relatives, but, even some of these people wished they could get a reliable teenager to sit on occasion. Everyone felt that neighbors could be counted on in case of an emergency.

The respondents' level of trust in child care providers and their perception of the quality of care were generally quite high. All but three respondents rated this domain as "generally good" or "very good." The three who rated their situation lower felt that it was "more good than bad," usually citing the desire to have a paid sitter that they could rely on on a regular basis for weekend evenings.

Neighborhood Safety

The issue of safety was a concern to almost half of the families. Their largest problem was over the fast moving creek that marks the western boundary of the neighborhood. Perceptions of the traffic problem varied widely from "traffic in this neighborhood is at a minimum" to "we're too close to Salina Street -- cars race around the corners. I get nervous." Traffic was most often a problem for people living close to Salina Street and for the one family who lived on this street. Most families expressed little concern about heavy traffic and allowed their older children to play in the streets in front of their homes. There was mild concern over the lack of sidewalks on some streets, but this was mentioned only briefly by two respondents.

There was no concern expressed by residents over their physical well being on the streets at any time of the day or night. Similarly, people felt safe from the threat of vandalism of theft. They often felt safe leaving their children outside to play for prolonged periods, but several mothers restricted their smaller children to an area close to home. Most of the respondents' comments were along the following lines:

> We don't have to worry about violence or crime...it just doesn't happen.
>
> It's safe, the kids leave their bikes out and nothing ever happens.
>
> I like it. It's a dead end street and the kids can go out for hours and hours and I don't have to worry about them.

The only concern for safety, mentioned by two respondents, had to do with dogs in the neighborhood. One woman felt that the leash law was not properly obeyed and that some of the dogs that roamed in the neighborhood were vicious. She said that one child had been bitten. Another woman complained that one of her neighbors used an electrified fence to keep their dog in the yard. She was concerned about young children accidentally touching it and she was trying to get her neighbors to take it down.

The majority of people, however, seemed to think that the neighborhood is safe. Only one respondent felt a need for a police station in the area, saying that would make her feel more secure. This need was not felt by other respondents.

Medical Care

Eleven families in the Nedrow area relied on private doctors for medical care. Although cost was a problem to a few, these people felt that the quality of care they received was good. Two of these families said that they went to the local fire station where a there is limited medical facility, to get shots for their children. Two other families relied solely on this clinic for their medical needs. One respondent took her family into the city to use the clinic at Upstate Medical Center. There was one family with three children, who had had recent financial problems who presently had no care at all.

> I used to take the children to a private doctor.
> But, we haven't gone to any doctors in over a year.
> Now, I'd have to look for someone who accepts
> Medicaid.

There were complaints about the cost of private care and one person felt that the doctors' offices were too far away. People who used the clinic at the fire station found it to be very convenient and appreciated the fact that the care was free. People also felt that there were a number of hospitals that were close enough so that they would not have to worry in case of an emergency.

Seven of the families mentioned that they attended church services. Two of these attended only occasionally, one woman stating:

> We go to church once in a great while -- when
> my mother is here (laughs).

But, for the rest of these people, their involvement in church extended beyond Sunday services. Whether Catholic, Protestant, or Jehovah's Witness, these people often attended extra events, such as additional services, Bible study groups, parenting seminars, or couples' groups. Often a priest or minister was an important family friend.

> Our priest has given us very good advice on understanding ourselves and our children. He has helped our marriage to be what it is...a good one.

In one instance, members of a church grouped together to help a family with financing work that needed to be done on their septic system.

> (The city had) condemned us -- said we had two days to get out. We had no money, no food even. The guy showed up to pump (the septic system) out...He said they told him to tell me the Lord was supposed to pay for it. People from church got together and all pitched in. They wouldn't say who even. A day later, we got a check for $42.80 saying "The Lord's Money" on it. (My husband) was out of work. It was a bad time for us...You know who your friends are in a situation like that.

For those people who mentioned organizations as a positive force in their lives, church groups were the most frequently noted specific type of organization. Bowling and Bingo groups were less mentioned, but were important as a source of entertainment for the few who did mention them.

The local elementary school, was seen as beneficial because of its recreational programs for children, and, to four respondents, was important because of it's proximity. These people felt that the school system was a good one and one person felt that "it was an important advantage" to have a school that was not part of the city school district.

Other services less frequently mentioned (less than three responses) were access to bus service and having a fire station close by. Having a Pizza Hut and McDonald's located on Salina Street were important for family recreation in some instances.

Nedrow is somewhat of a self-contained community. It is not part of the city, nor could it be considered the country. At times, this situation is advantageous ("It is not part of the city school district") but, on the other hand, needed city services are much more difficult to obtain. For instance, eligibility for day care located in the city is difficult to obtain. One woman reported difficulties related to location in her attempts to get some help through urban renewal programs to repair her home.

> I don't qualify for any city programs nor do I qualify for Onondaga County Programs. We're in between, even though, we qualify for these programs financially. My girlfriend lives four blocks away. They qualified for urban renewal. They got the whole house renovated. They got a new furnace, a new roof, they got the house painted. I applied and qualified financially, but they said I lived too far out of the city. Then we applied for FHA to help fix the house but was told we didn't live far enough outside the city. Nedrow doesn't qualify for any of these programs we need so bad.

Housing

Most respondents were quite happy with their housing arrangements. All but three people owned their own homes, and two of the families who rented had a full house. All of the families had backyards that were used as play areas for children and for general family recreation.

> We have a nice, big back yard with a swimming pool and that constitutes a lot of the whole family's summer fun.

A number of families mentioned that they had put pools or swingsets in their back yards for their children. Most people had fenced off these yards, so parents worried less about the safety of young children.

People tended to be less satisfied with the space available inside their homes. Their major problem was the lack of bedrooms, and complaints were made that children of different sexes or of widely differing ages had to share a room together. Many of these people had plans to extend their living space and do the work themselves. But, in the interim, the lack of bedrooms often forced children to play in the more general living quarters, and privacy was sometimes difficult to attain.

Families with two children or less were most satisfied with their housing situation.

> Except for the fact that we don't have a dining room, I think this house is an ideal size for a family with two children.

One man felt that his house was "a good starter -- I have remodeled the bathroom and kitchen. I like it as a place to live." It was usually the addition of a third child which caused people to begin to feel cramped in their living quarters. The one mohter who lived in an apartment felt that her son "has a lot of room to run in the house...He has his own room (shared with his brother), but before, we only had one bedroom and the kids slept in the living room." However, she also felt that it was difficult for her to be alone and really get away from the kids in the amount of space available inside her apartment.

Most of the houses in this neighborhood are similar in structure and size, yet people's perceptions of the availability of privacy in their homes differed. Both family size and people's individual needs seem to affect perceptions. One woman liked her children to play in the living room and kitchen while she was working. She simply liked having them around her and didn't feel any need to be away from them. Of course, for others, the opposite was true.

Generally, people viewed their neighborhood as a pleasant one where people made a real effort to maintain their homes and their yards.

> Most of them take care of their homes -- economically its maintained its real value, if not increased.

For the most part, people were satisfied with the present condition of their homes, although many talked about future plans for improvements that they make do themselves.

> The house needs work on it, but we are doing it as we can. There are no complaints.
>
> I love this house, I feel like one of these days (we) will get all the work done on it. I'd like to get the kitchen painted, the bathroom painted, and some work needs to be done on the upstairs of the house. But this house is just fine.

The one exception to this general sense of well being was voiced by a family who felt that they had bought a home that required a lot of work that they had not anticipated. Their financial situation wouldn't allow for the improvements they felt were necessary. This is the same family, previously mentioned, that was unable to acquire funds for renovation of their home because of its location.

People generally did not raise the subject of the cost of their housing. The few who did felt that their mortgage payments were within their budget. The only complaints were about the cost of utilities. However, in this instance small size was regarded as a virtue; people were glad that their houses were small so that utility bills could be met without too much difficulty.

Neighbors and Neighboring

Respondents often described their neighbors as "friendly, nice, willing to help out, even if you don't socialize with them." The consensus was that on the one hand, you didn't have to be too involved with your neighbors, but you could count on neighbors to keep an eye on your children. People preferred this atmosphere and privacy was an issue in only one instance in which a respondent felt that "the people of Nedrow are a gossipy bunch of people and I don't like them at all. I don't have anything to do with the people around here. I don't want a bunch of nosey neighbors coming over to drink coffee." This was a unique viewpoint and in extreme deviation from everyone else's opinion. Most people felt that their neighbors were considerate and dependable people who made things easier by "being there when (we) need them."

The majority of people did not look to their neighbors for close friendship. One of the three respondents in our sample who lived on the eastern side of Salina Street wished that there were more young people who lived close by, "people who could really be my friends." Since two of these respondents felt that there were no young children in their neighborhood for their own to play with, one might conclude that this part of the neighborhood is made up of mostly older families.

For the most part, people felt that there were plenty of children in the neighborhood. In the northwest corner of the neighborhood where half of our sample families live, people felt there was an abundance of children:

> The general atmosphere is very nice, there are lots of kids around, so my daughter has the opportunity to play with children. We moved here basically because there were so many kids here, some in each age group for all our kids. There must be 50 to 60 kids on the street.

Parents were also happy with the quality of children in the neighborhood. "It's a good place to raise kids, no problems with the neighborhood kids...no destructive children." One woman voiced a concern she had for her older children. She felt that because she sent her children to parochial school, they were considered outsiders and had problems making friends. This concern was not mentioned by any other parent.

Most respondents felt that their neighborhood provided a supportive atmosphere for their parenting role. When asked where they received their greatest support, all but two people cited family members. Usually they mentioned spouses, but at least half of these people extended this beyond the immediate family to their own parents, brothers, and sisters. These people depended on their extended family mostly for advice and consultation about the upbringing of children. There were two exceptions: one single woman felt that her religion (Jehovah's Witness) was her most important source of help, one man felt that he received a great deal of help from "outsiders," like "teachers, athletic coaches, and friends."

When people were asked what their most serious problem was, one-fifth of them replied that they didn't have any. Only two families cited finances as a serious problem. One of these was on welfare, and the other parents, who had the second highest income in the sample, felt that more money would allow for more "extras" and freedom to spend more time on family vacations. The remainder of the people tended to define their most serious problems in one of two ways. Some expressed a concern about loss of influence over their children as they grow older. They worried about future peer pressure that might get their children into drugs or petty theft. The other source of concern for some parents was over what type of job they were doing as parents.

> (My biggest problem is) wondering if I'm doing the right thing. There's no way of knowing. (You) try to do your best with your child, but (I) cannot be positive.

The impression that one gets of the Nedrow neighborhood is that it is a stable community and a good place to bring up children. There are very few problems that people face here. The biggest one, no fence to keep children away from a fast moving creek, is relatively minor compared to problems faced by the people in other neighborhoods. People feel that they have control over events in their neighborhood; the availability of private yards seems to contribute th this feeling. People generally feel good about their schools, neighbors, and the other children in the neighborhood. Most shopping can be done within walking distance, but the stores do not encroach on most of the residential areas. For other shopping needs, downtown is a 15-minute drive and a direct bus service is available for those people without cars.

Most of these people probably will stay in the neighborhood. Even though many find they are "growing out" of their houses, higher interest rates on a new mortgage may deter them from moving. Since many people planned to work on their houses themselves, it might be easier to expand than to buy a new home. Only those people with low incomes might be expected to leave the neighborhood. Services frequently found in the city (health clinics, urban renewal, daycare) are not available to any great extent in this neighborhood. Two respondents expressed a clear desire to move, but this was to escape conditions in the home rather than problems with the neighborhood. One woman lived with her parents and preferred to be on her own. The other family wanted to get out of a house that was in poor condition and which they didn't have the money to fix up. Both of these were low income families who, at least temporarily, were stuck in their present situations because of the lack of money. However, even for the low income people, the advantages of living in the Nedrow neighborhood may outweigh the disadvantages.

A far more typical view was expressed by one woman who said of her neighborhood:

> We'll be here for the rest of our lives, as far as I know.

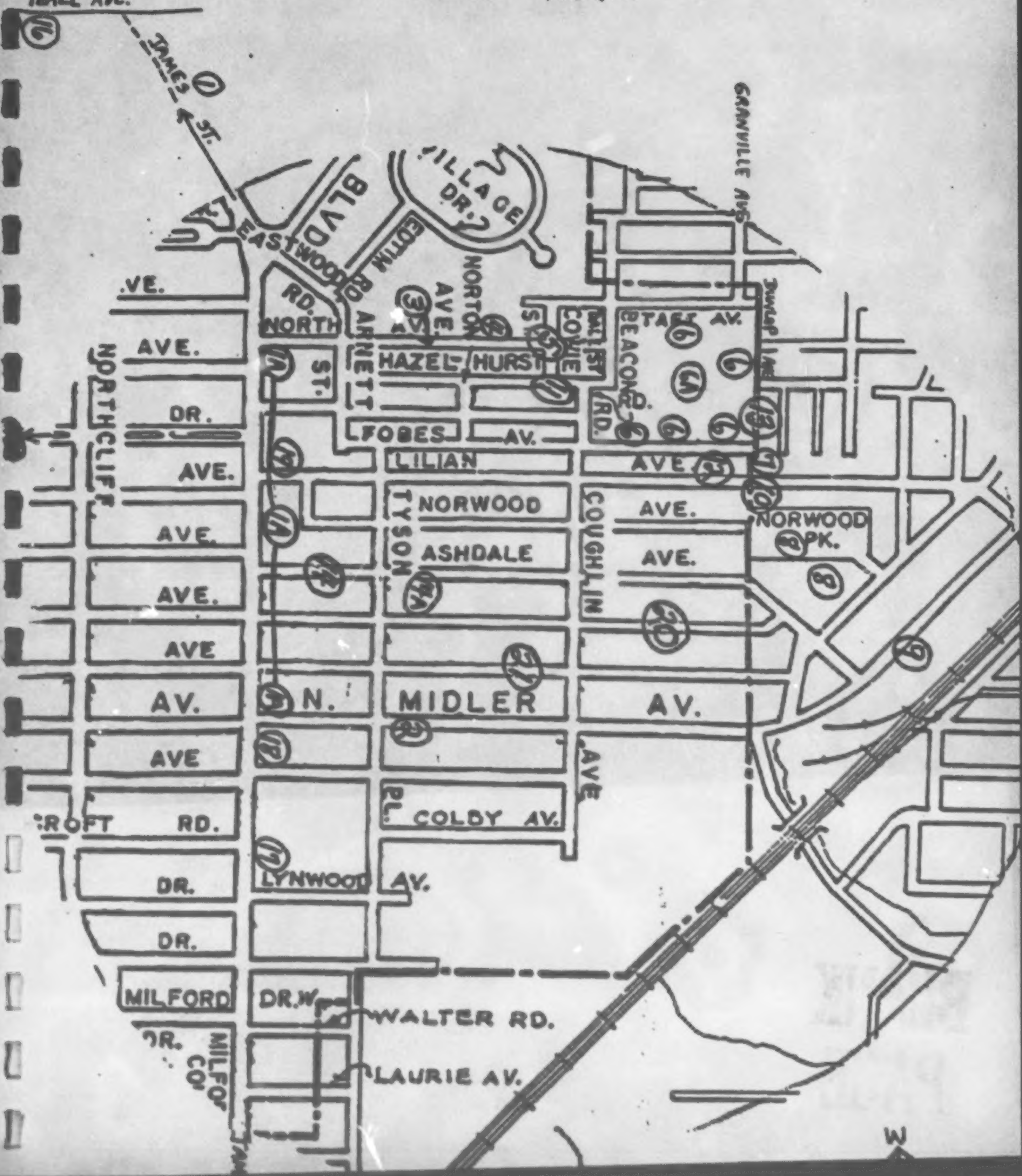
EASTWOOD-NORTH:
NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

Ann Pitkin
Margaret Barker-

KEY: Eastwood North

1. James Street
    - 1A. Commercial center of James Street
2. Midler Avenue (eastern boundary)
3. North Avenue (western boundary)
4. Abandoned school building
5. North Avenue Superette
6. Eastwood Housing Project (also north-west corner "niche")
    - 6A. Play area of E.H.P.
7. End of city line
8. Industrial park (outside neighborhood)
9. Route 298 (outside neighborhood)
10. Lillian and Dunlop (corner of)
11. Hazlehurst Avenue
12. Lillian Avenue
13. Dunlop Avenue
14. Ashdale Avenue
    - 14A. Ashdale Apartments
15. Huntington Elementary School (outside neighborhood)
16. Henniger High School (outside neighborhood)
17. Blessed Sacrament Church (outside neighborhood)
18. Eastwood Baptist (outside neighborhood)
19. Lillian Avenue and James Street
20. Collingwood Avenue
21. Edwards Avenue

EASTWOOD - NORTH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BLVD.
EASTWOOD
RD.
VILLAGE DR.
EDITH
NORTON AVE.
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NORTH AV.
ST.
ARNETT
HAZEL-HURST
S
COWIE
BEACON RD.
TAFT AV.
6
6
6A
6
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GRANVILLE AVE
DUNLAP AVE
13
11
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FOBES AV.
LILIAN AVE
NORWOOD AVE.
NORWOOD PK.
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TYSON
ASHDALE AVE.
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COLBY AV.
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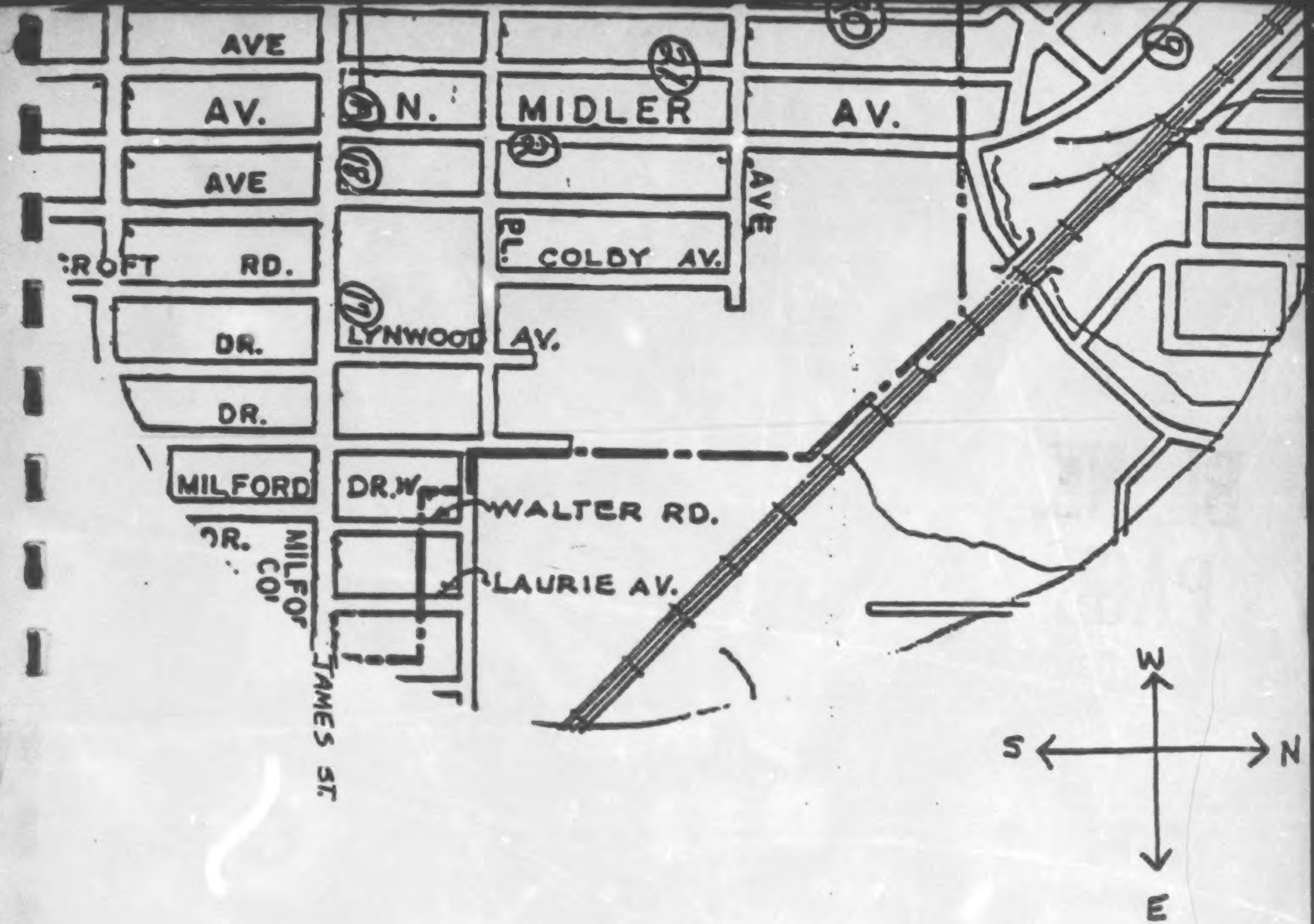
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Eastwood-North

Neighborhood Profile *

Direct Observations

The area defined as Eastwood-North is on the eastern boundary of the city limits. Eastwood was a separate, independent village until it was annexed to the city of Syracuse in the 1930's and in some ways Eastwood still maintains this fairly distinct identity. Feelings of being independent from the city are reflected in residents remarks such as: "We moved out of the city and into Eastwood three years ago." Visually, Eastwood-North is also different from other areas in the city; this fact is a product of its history. When Eastwood was being developed, a different set of standards -- village standards rather than city standards -- were in effect. For example, some streets have no distinct sidewalks and therefore no curbs. Eastwood residents have often complained of unfair treatment when it comes to getting street and other civic repairs from the city.

Boundaries

Eastwood is situated just two minutes from downtown Syracuse, and one enters the area on James Street(1) -- a heavily travelled artery carrying all types of commercial and private traffic. James Street is important for three main reasons. First, it forms the southern boundary of the neighborhood. Second, James Street is the commercial center(1A) of the area and runs throughout the length of the neighborhood. Finally, James Street, which runs east-west (see map), is used as to connect with Midler Avenue(2) which runs north-south.

The western boundary of Eastwood-North is North Avenue.(3) This is a narrow residential street with small clapboard houses, the majority of which are one-family.

The eastern boundary of the neighborhood is marked by Midler Avenue -- the second busiest street in the area. This is a very wide street containing larger homes and more space than other streets in the neighborhood.

The northern boundary of Eastwood-North is actually the end of the city limits.(7) A series of dead-end streets serve as a barrier between the neighborhood on one side

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*Eulas Boyd, Liz Keily, and Mary Maples each made important contributions in the preparation of this profile.

and an industrial area(8) on the other. Standing on Lillian or Dunlop Avenue(10) one looks across overgrown, empty lots at warehouses,(8) factories,(8) and Route 298.(9)

Internal Boundaries

The most obvious internal boundaries found in the neighborhood are the Eastwood Housing Projects(6) and other surrounding apartment buildings in the northwest corner. On Hazelhurst Avenue,(11) Lillian Avenue(12) and Dunlop Avenue(13) are private apartment buildings of modern design; these private rental properties stand in sharp contrast to both the Eastwood Housing Project and the well-kept, single-family homes which surround. (Seeing these three very different kinds of housing within such close proximity to each other an very unusual experience.)

Residential

The Eastwood Housing Project,(6) which was built in the 1950's for low income whites, is a state funded facility. Its design, layout and management have given it the reputation of being one of the better public housing facilities in Syracuse. This project is strikingly different from the rest of the neighborhood by virtue of its design and size; it contains 200 apartments and is built entirely of plain, red brick. Each apartment is divided into two floors and has a small lawn in front. No decoration or design distinguishes one house from the other. The 200 living units are blocked into courts and each court has its own play area and parking space. The management is located right within the project and in addition to rental and maintenance responsibilities, also runs a recreational center for teens. The entire project appeared to be in good condition.

Across the street from the E.H.P. stands the private rental properties already mentioned. These were expensively and distinctively constructed; one building even has a fireplace in each of the ten apartments. Ouside of this immediate area, one other private apartment building, called Ashdale Apartments,(14A) is located in the center of the neighborhood on Ashdale Avenue.(14) This is similar in design to those already described -- modern and distinctive.

On North Avenue, a narrow street with small wooden houses, some homes show signs of wear and tear such as chipped paint, or broken garage doors but generally, disrepair is not in evidence. Front lawns are very small and most garages are located behind houses, leaving no room for backyards. On North Avenue stands an abandoned school building.(4) Most of its windows are broken and others are boarded up. One block futher down is the North Avenue Superette,(5) which is a corner market open seven days a week; it advertises "Ice Cold Beer."

Throughout the rest of the neighborhood, housing is fairly consistent in terms of size, appearance, and style. Houses are generally small and placed very close together. Some have back yards which are fenced in. Others have no back yards because this space is taken up by garages. The majority of homes here are simple; there are very few decorative entrances, landscaping, or other features which differentiate the houses from each other. Most are neat and well maintained, with only an occusional house showing signs of needed repair. There appeared to be no pattern with regard to condition of housing within the neighborhood. Throughout its entire area only four homes could be categorized as being in a state of disrepair (falling porches, broken steps), and two of these were obviously being worked on.

The only slight difference in housing was found on the eastern boundary of Midler Avenue.(2) Houses here appeared to be built by people with more substantial incomes -- houses are larger, have more space between and around them, occasionally have architectual fineries such as stained glass windows. It was on Midler Avenue that the only "For Sale" sign was observed in the neighborhood. Three "Beware of Dog" signs were also observed; these were randomly placed throughout the area.

Commerical Areas

The commercial center of Eastwood North is located on James Street. This is a fairly large area that contains all types of shops, which include: hardware stores, food shops, restaurants, bars, drug store and childrens' clothing store.(1A) The presence of certain stores here in some way reflects the sort of population that lives in Eastwood-North. For example, there are two second-hand shops which deal either in used clothing or furniture.

Other services found in this commercial strip include a Post Office, public library, laundromat, movie theatre and two karate schools.(1A)

This part of the neighborhood could be viewed as a "service neighborhood" that is, an area used by people who are not local residents. For example, several truck drivers had parked their vehicles on James Street and were eating in the local restaurants. One young man who was driving a New York Telephone truck entered the White Tower(1A) fast food restaurant and exited carrying a large take-out order. A steady flow of commercial and non-commercial traffic was being serviced at the gas station, and many shoppers who arrived in cars were observed entering and leaving the large Byrne Dairy(1A) which advertises weekly "specials."

Recreational Center and Playgrounds

Within Eastwood-North there are no parks, playgrounds, or other centers set aside for the recreational needs of the community. Apart from those play facilities located within the Eastwood Housing Project,(6A) there is a small play area located behind Huntington Elementary School(15) and is therefore called Huntington Park. This area has a swimming pool, a playground, and some open play space which includes two baseball diamonds. In order to get there, residents of Eastwood-North must cross James Street and then walk up a hill. (I had trouble locating this park and when I asked three different residents for directions, the last one stated: "There's a small area behind Huntington School but there's no park that I know of around here.") Although the observation was done on a Monday, the park showed very few signs of having been used over the weekend -- no tracks in the snow, etc. Some grafitti were on the walls inside the park. Residents also have access to ice skating at Henniger High School(16) which is a short bus or car ride away.

Services

Located on Homecraft Road and James Street, just five blocks from Midler Avnue, stands Blessed Sacrament Church(17) which houses the largest organization in this predominantly Catholic neighborhood. Aside from religious services, Blessed Sacrament provides a parochial school which educates some 500 children from the community. Other services provided by the church include: Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, BINGO, volleyball for adults, family outings, and counseling.

A much smaller church, Eastwood Baptist,(18) is located on Nichols and James Street; this facility provides day care and nursery school services.

Centrally located on James Street is a public library which provides a weekly story hour for pre-school children and film programs on Saturday afternoons. Presently it is also running an adult film series which includes travelogues and old Hollywood classics.

People

By far the greatest number of people observed in Eastwood North were found in the commercial center on James Street. Here shoppers, mostly women, were walking into and out of stores, carrying packages. Most were on their own with the exception of those young women who were holding their children's hands. One woman who was carrying groceries and had two children with her kept cautioning the older one to hold on to the younger one's hand. (This was obviously because of the busy traffic on James Street.) A substantial number of these shoppers were older women who were also standing on corners waiting for the downtown bus. A young couple who looked fairly poor walked out of the thrift shop carring a used lamp and small side table. Both walked down North Avenue,(3) the western boundary of the neighborhood. Three teenagers were standing on the corner of Lillian and James Street,(19) one threw a snowball at a passing bus. All the people observed in the commercial area were white, with the exception of one young Black man who walked out of the dry cleaners carrying an army uniform.

Throughout the rest of the neighborhood very few people were observed. An elderly man was shovelling snow on Collingwood Avenue(20) and a woman with two young children were unloading groceries from a stationwagon on Edwards Avenue.(21) Two young adults who were carrying books walked out of Ashdale Apartments,(14A) as they passed a woman who was shovelling snow at a private house right beside the apartments, they greeted each other.

Within the Eastwood Housing Project(6) about eight people were observed. Six were white and two were Black. One white woman was carrying an infant in her arms and one Black woman was holding a toddler's hand. An elderly white man, who obviously was part of the maintenance crew, was shovelling the pathways clear of snow.

Demographic Profile of Project Families *

The Eastwood-North survey characterized the neighborhood as a moderate-income city neighborhood with a white ethnic population. The sample of families from this neighborhood supports this description, since it consists of sixteen white families and one Black family. Most of the individuals identified themselves with a particular ethnic heritage -- for the most part Italian, German, or Irish, with a few mentioning Polish, Canadian, Austrian, Dutch, or French descent. Most of the parents are Catholic, with the exception of three Protestants and one Fundamentalist Christian. According to the field staff, there seems to be a strong Catholic community in Eastwood-North, relying upon the local Catholic Church and its various outreach programs for support.

The project families in Eastwood-North tend to be quite small, with most having one or two children. The differences in the environments of the one- and two-parent families are clear. Six of the women are single and living alone, while two are single and living with a partner. Nine women out of the seventeen are married. Most of the married couples own their own homes, while most of the single mothers rent apartments. In fact, three of the single mothers live in the same state-funded housing project. All of the married couples own their own cars, while five of eight single mothers do not.

The financial situation of the families in the Eastwood-North sample is also closely related to marital status. The married couples average over $20,000 income per year, while the rest of the families earn less than $7,000 per year on the average, with six of the eight single mothers on welfare.

The parents in the Eastwood-North sample are quite young; thirteen out of the seventeen women are under age 30. All of the men are under 35 years old, averaging about a year and a half older than the women. According to the field staff, some of the younger families in the study feel isolated due to the large number of older families in the neighborhood and the absence of peers for their children to play with. Many of

*This section prepared by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

the project families have moved into the neighborhood quite recently, and they also seem to move often. Thirteen of the families in the sample have moved within the past four years, most of them two or more times. Only two of the families studied here have lived in the neighborhood for six or more years.

The men in the Eastwood-North sample, all with at least a high school education, tend to have almost two years more education than the women. Five of the women did not complete high school, and only two studied beyond high school. Almost half of the women are employed; three of them work full-time. One woman works at two different part-time jobs. The employed women earned an average of $5,212 annually. All the men in this sample are employed full-time, except one who is unemployed.

The men are about evenly divided between blue collar and white collar jobs, with the exception of one man who works at a professional level job. This neighborhood is described by the field staff as "working class." One respondent said "I don't know my neighbors because I work all day." This statement may have something to do with the fact that nine of the fathers work 40 or more hours per week outside the home.

In general, Eastwood-North seems to be a quiet, homogeneous neighborhood, where the married couples in the sample live fairly comfortably, but are somewhat isolated. Life appears to be more difficult for the single mothers who have fewer resources to rely on.

The social network material collected from the Eastwood-North parents shows that they reported a strikingly low average number of neighbors in their networks, compared with the results from the other nine neighborhoods. In fact, Eastwood-North ranks last in terms of average number of neighbors in the primary network, total neighborhood contacts, as well as contact for child-related, practical, financial and emotional support. This neighborhood ranked a little higher (sixth) in terms of average number of neighbors who are also relatives. Overall, neighbors do not seem to provide the project families with much support. Some families mentioned no neighbors as sources of support and the greatest number of neighbors any family mentioned was only eleven, the smallest maximum number reported in any of the program neighborhoods.

Respondents' Perceptions

The neighborhood defined as Eastwood North is probably one of the better known areas in Syracuse. This is primarily due to the fact that unlike quieter, residential neighbohoods, Eastwood contains a commercial strip that attracts people from other parts of Syracuse. Outsiders may come to shop in some of the convenience stores, to eat in one of Syracuse's well known restaurants, to or drink in one of its bars. Others may come to take lessons in one of its two karate schools and many more may simply pass through Eastwood using James Street as an east-west route. James Street also connects with Midler Avenue which connects points north and south; all these factors make Eastwood's commercial strip a very busy section with lots of traffic and other activity.

Many residents identified their neighborhood in very broad terms, often including boundaries that are a distance from their own home. (This seemed to point to respondents viewing Eastwood as a section of Syracuse rather than a more personally defined area.) Still, some residents (all women) did view their neighborhood as being that area which immediately surrounded them. One respondent who lived in the Eastwood Housing Project viewed her neighborhood as starting and ending with her housing project.

The majority of respondents' formal ratings of the neighborhood fell into the "generally good" category, but five respondents stated their opinion as "generally bad." Consistent overlap between these dissatisfied opinions was related to fears concerning the heavy traffic on James Street.

The commercial section of James Street includes many conveniences (see previous section).The majority of respondents felt positively about the commercial district in their neighborhood and shared the belief that:

> It has or is near everything we need -- stores, shops, Post Office, laundromats, eating places, etc. -- they're all accessible.

Another respondent likened this commercial section to a small village:

> Shopping and getting places is no problem. We have like a little village here and we have everything within walking distance.

Eastwood is convenient to two other large shopping areas: downtown Syracuse and Shop City Mall. Residents thought of these places to go when they needed to do special shopping. Only one respondent stated dissatisfaction that related to shopping:

> I have to walk at least ten blocks to get to the supermarket. Let me tell you it's cold out there to have to walk so far...(and) that little store on the corner is such a rip-off.

This respondent, who lives in the Eastwood Housing Project, is referring to the little market on North Avenue located two blocks from her house. However, her sentiments are not shared by the two other respondents who live in the Eastwood Housing Project. One possible explanation for the difference coould be that this respondent does not own or have access to a car, nor does she have any friendships within the project, or outside it.

By far, the largest and most used organization in Eastwood-North is Blessed Sacrament Church. Aside from spiritual and religious matters, Blessed Sacrament has an extensive Parish Outreach program which touches on the needs and interests of the community. Some of these are: counselling services, senior citizen programs, a parochial school, and BINGO. Many of these programs involved some of our respondents. One particular type of counselling offered by the church, called "Marriage Encounter," was cited as being very important in the lives of two respondents:

> It gave (my wife) and me a new start. It was something we were looking for since we never had much luck communicating.

Another parent had found the counselling services to be very helpful with problems she had been having with her child. One mother who had fears of sending her child to public school found support in having Blessed Sacrament Parochial School as an alternative -- a choice she would probably make. Three other respondents were involved with this church because of the spiritual and emotional support it offered to families.

A public library which is centrally located on James Street was cited as being an important asset in the neighborhood by three respondents -- one which they used often.

Other agencies, groups, or organizations used by respondents were public assistance services such as: Food stamps, Medicaide, Welfare or SETA (Syracuse Employment Training Program). This latter program, SETA, trained one Black single parent with skills that enabled her to obtain her first job. One consistent complaint shared by those who used the Food Stamp Program was that the stamps weren't adequate to pay for todays rocketing food costs. One welfare parent who was experiencing legal difficulties with her ex-husband used Legal Aid (services for low-income people). This was a very helpful service for her:

> I'm very impressed with the help they've given me. They explain to me what has to be done and are always available to help. I'm very happy that I have someone to turn to.

One particularly striking contrast to the above experience concerning social services was offered by another respondent who was also on welfare and stated that the social services she received were not helpful. In fact, they were identified as a source of stress: "People at welfare make you feel humiliated and they're not even offering enough support." When asked to identify any services or help she needed but wasn't getting, this respondent stated:

> I wish that there was someone or someplace to call when I feel like I'm going to kill my child.

Half our respondents used formal child care arrangements such as Head Start, nursery school or day care center. Every parent who used these formal arrangements stated satisfaction in terms of convenience and the support it gave them and their children. This was especially true for working mothers who could go to work and not be worried about the care and safety of their children. One aspect that most parents highlighted involved relationships with teachers. The following typifies the sentiments of many:

> I went to the school and it's really wonderful... It's clean and neat. The staff is fantastic -- they

> really care about the kids and are concerned about the parents; they let me know what's going on and involve me in what (my child) is doing.

Aside from these formal arrangements, all but one respondent had access to and used a variety of informal child care arrangements such as neighbors, relatives or teenagers in the neighborhood. Most respondents had access to a "stand-by" babysitter -- someone who could be counted on in an emergency or at the last minute. This person was usually the respondent's mother.

The one respondent who did have difficulties with her child care arrangements, rated it as "very bad" stating:

> I wish we did have a regular babysitter -- someone we could trust and depend upon. Then (my partner) and I could go out together once in a while.

This parent's need is made poignantly clear when one realizes it was she who wished for someone to turn to when she felt like killing her child.

Perhaps the one need that was consistently identified as missing in the Eastwood-North neighborhood was the lack of recreational facilities. The only local park is a relatively small one located behind Huntington school. This park has a playground, two baseball diamonds, and a swimming pool. Other than this small park there is no other recreational area in the neighborhood. The following statement reflects majority opinion:

> Recreation (is) a problem because there is no place around here. (My child) and I usually have to find one somewhere else.

One parent who has used Huntington Park stated:

> I would like to have a decent park close by. The one we have has been taken over by teenagers and there's glass everywhere. (My child) got badly cut last year...it's dangerous! I plan to call the park service before next season comes -- it's frustrating!

A separate distinction must be made for the three families who live in the Eastwood Housing Project. As stated before, the project is divided into courts and each court has its own playground and play area. In addition to this there is a teen center which provides recreational activities for the many youths within the project. One respondent summed up her opinion this way:

> We have a real nice playground and plenty of space for the kids to play without going near the street... They have a recreation hall in the complex and they have movies, arts and crafts and games to play. It's a nice facillity and it's a place for (my child) to go with some of the older kids so she doesn't have to depend on me.

Other respondents used parks and recreational facilities outside the neighborhood, such as the ice skating rink at Sunnycrest School or the YMCA. But these are accessible only to those who have cars or are willing to take a bus. It was this lack of recreational facilities that prompted one parent to wish that the abandoned elementary school on North Avenue be turned into a community recreational center.

. The issue of safety for Eastwood North residents was primarily a matter of traffic safety. Although one respondent mentioned a law which prohibited trucks from entering his and neighboring streets, the vast majority of respondents still had fears concerning the heavy traffic on James Street. This worry was so severe for one family who did not want their children crossing James Street on their way to and from school, that they were trying to move out of the neighborhood before the children became school age.

In terms of violence or crime in the neighborhood the majority of respondents shared this opinion:

> I usually don't think of our having a crime problem or anything like that.

Only one family had had personal contact with crime; their house was broken into three weeks after they moved into Eastwood-North. Two other respondents knew of similar incidents that occured on their streets. Nevertheless, the dominant view was still one in which residents believed crime existed everywhere, but Eastwood-North remained fairly safe. One respondent who lives two blocks from the Eastwood Housing Project had fears concerning the young people who live there:

> For the most part I feel the house is safe. But the housing nearby is bad. There's a housing project a few blocks from here and especially in the summer, young people are always passing by in groups on the way to James Street. That makes me nervous.

The three families living in the Eastwood Housing Project had no fears concerning traffic. With regard to violence or crime, the project has its own security patrol a service which was very important to one resident's feeling of security:

> I feel safe here because we have security patrol and they are always walking around at night -- if they see anything suspicious they investigate it right away."

The second resident of the EHP felt safe primarily because of other residents within the project who apparently share a sense of responsibility for each other's welfare:

> Things have been really good and with all the people around. I fee secure here because people watch out for everyone else.

These two respondents who shared similar feelings (one white, one Black) lived in the same housing court but their opinion was not shared by the third respondent who lives in another court:

> ...nothing has happened to me but boy! I keep hearing about things. I don't let (my children) out on their own. God! if anything happened to them.

Excluding E.H.P, our sample contains five renters and seven home owners. Many home-owners were engaged in home repairs or remodelling -- usually adding on some type of needed space such as a bedroom or family room. The majority of respondents were basically satisfied with their housing arrangements but a common complaint was for more space within the houses and between the houses. The following complaint was shared by several other residents:

> It's too small. There's only two bedrooms so the boys have to share. It would be good if they each had their own space. I don't like having houses on both sides right on top of me. Cramped. If

> you open your windows in the summer, you hear everything next door.

Renters' experience with landlords varied from the very best to the very worst. Some landlords fixed things as soon as they were made aware of a problem, and others simply ignored complaints. Those renters in the EHP were all satisfied with their housing arrangements for the following reasons:

1. these rental units a split level design, thereby providing more privacy,
2. apartments were rent controlled so rents were reasonable,
3. the complex has it's own maintenance crew which is on hand to take care of any housing problems.

The majority of respondents' formal ratings concerning their housing arrangements fall into the "generally good" category and many residents highlighted the affordable rents and mortgage payments in Eastwood-North.

Respondents' sentiments concerning neighbors was evenly divided between those who had neighboring ties and those who had none. Respondents who felt positively about their neighbors shared the opinions that:

> They're very nice and pleasant -- easy to get along with.

and

> ...there are a majority of people here, yet it's small enough as it has a sense of community.

In contrast, the other half of the sample felt alienated and neighborless. Different sources were identified as being responsible for this but there was no pattern with regard to location within the neighborhood, length of residence in the neighborhood or other factors such as renting vs. owning. One respondent identified the presence of renters in the area as being responsible for his lack of neighborhood ties, adding the comment that people constantly change. Another respondent felt that he never got to see any of his neighbors because they worked shift jobs in factories. However, the one consistent complaint concerning neighbors was directly related to the presence of older people in the neighborhood. The following statement was typical:

> It's an older neighborhood. There's not many couples our age. I like older people but it would be nice if it were younger. There would be more people I would have things in common with.

Another difficulty that this age gap presented to two families was the tension that resulted when people with very different life styles live next door to each other:

> I don't like the neighbors, they're rotten. They don't have any patience with anybody...the women next door are old and go to sleep at 6 PM. They get upset if my kids are making noise after that...

Perhaps the most consistency in terms of liking and accepting neighbors was documented from among those respondents who lived in the large rental properties of the Eastwood Housing Project and Ashdale Apartments. Liking and accepting neighbors included acts of sharing and helping each other out. For example, the one Black respondent in EHP stated that her neighbors were very quiet and nice and that they shovelled her walkway for her in the wintertime. Added to these positive factors, this single mother identified another positive dimension concerning her neighbors: "People mind their own business and thats the way I like it." Another respondent in EHP stated:

> ...all my neighbors are fortunate...we all get along. It's give and take -- if someone needs a sitter or to borrow something we always help each other out.

This opinion was shared by another single mother who lived in the private rental property of Ashdale Apartments and referred to neighbors only as being those people within her building:

> It's really nice here, everyone is young and we have similar life styles...I can also count on these people to help me out with the children if I get sick or something... It's nice to have helpful people so close. I can count on anyone at any time.

However, one problem this respondent in Ashdale Apartments did face was the lack of peers for her child to play with. This problem existed for nine of the seventeen families in Eastwood North. The following statement illustrates these families' situation:

> I don't like the neighborhood for (my son's) sake. There are no children his own age for him to play with.

One respondent stated that the neighborhood was too quiet and provided no stimulation for children. This feeling was associated with the number of older people in the neighborhood and in fact, the problem was so serious for one family that they elected to move out of Eastwood-North:

> The people around here are mostly older folks without kids. That's one of the main reasons we're buying (a home) in the suburbs. So (my child) will have kids to play with.

However, this problem is no longer faced by at least one respondent:

> (It's) fantastic! It used to be that there were a lot of old people here but recently three (houses) were sold to young families. So now there is a younger group... It's good for (my son). He has enough young people to play with.

The eight families who stated satisfaction with the number of peers for their children to play with are randomly placed throughout the neighborhood, and of course for those residents of the Eastwood Housing Project this problem is non-existent because of the concentration of young people in the facility.

In the issues of help and problems, the majority of respondents identified their greatest support coming from within the family. Spouses and partners turned to each other for emotional support and relied on each other to help them get through hard times.

Single parents admitted to having various fears and difficulties, yet despite these they were coping. This ability to cope was recognized in themselves as a source of help and one single mother found:

> I discovered that the world doesn't end when you lose a man who doesn't treat you right.

The overwhelming majority of families identified their biggest problems as being their financial situations. Parents were experiencing worries connected to meeting

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their families' basic needs such as food costs, heating bills, and house payments. The following opinion was shared by many of the Eastwood-North residents:

> I think (our biggest problem) is the financial situation -- that we're getting along barely. Everything seems to go up except the salary. That would proably be the biggest thing.

LIVERPOOL:
NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

Betsy Edinger

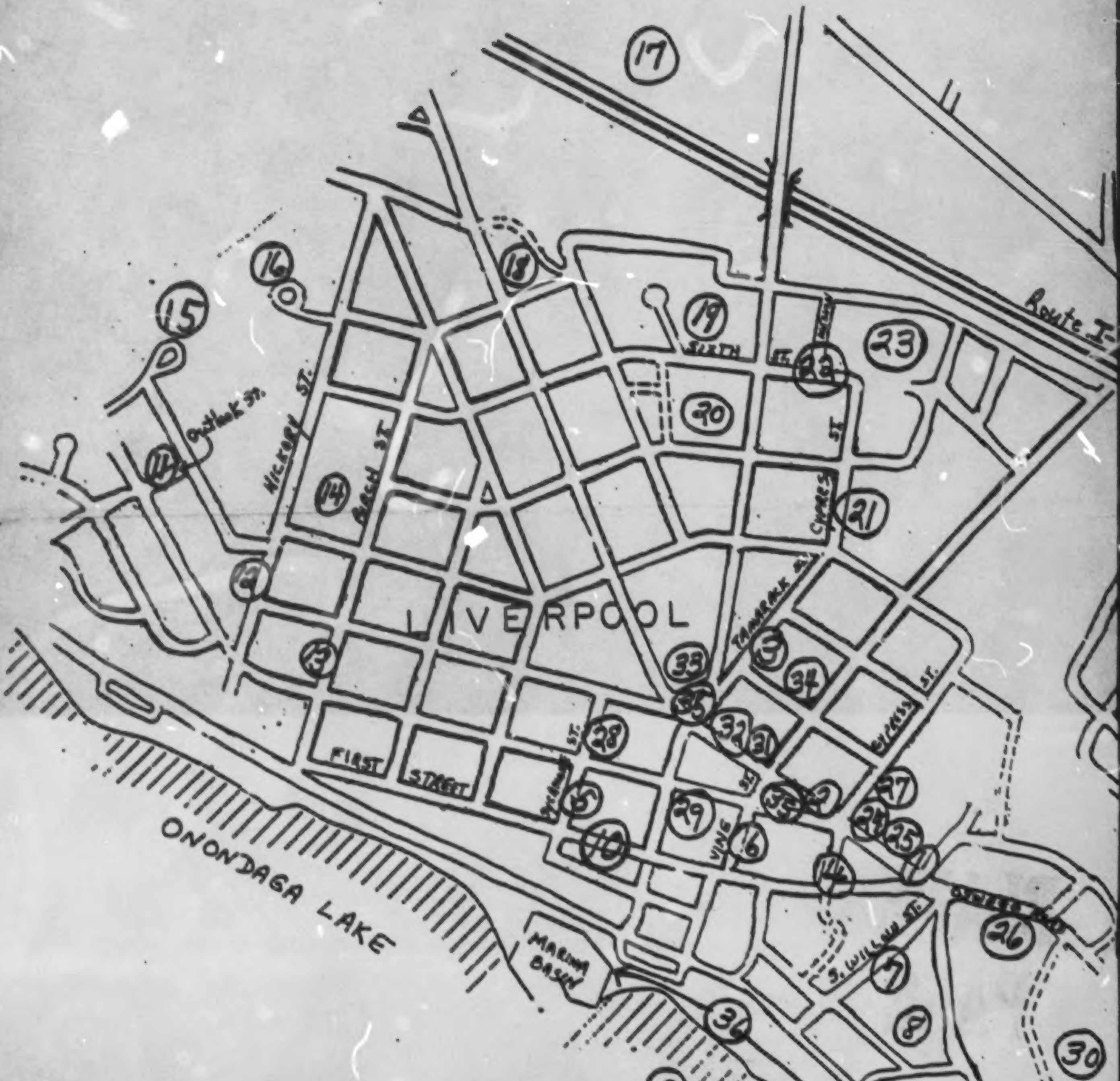
Ann Pitkin

Margaret Barker

KEY: Liverpool

1. Commercial area
2. Oswego Road
3. Tamarock Street
4. Cypress Street
5. Sycamore Street
6. Vine Street
7. South Willow Street
8. Griffin Field
9. Onondaga Lake
10. First Street
11. Outlook Street
12. Hickory Street
13. Birch Street
14. Zogg Middle School
15. Liverpool Elementary School
16. Liverpool Junior High School
17. Northern extremity of neighborhood
18. Water towers on green area
19. St. Joseph's Elementary School and church
20. Cemetary
21. Cypress Street
22. Melvin and Sixth Street
23. Large modern apartment complex
24. McDonald's
25. Pudgie's Pizza
26. Hyde's Restaurant
27. Post Office

LIVERPOOL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BEECH ST.
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LIVERPOOL
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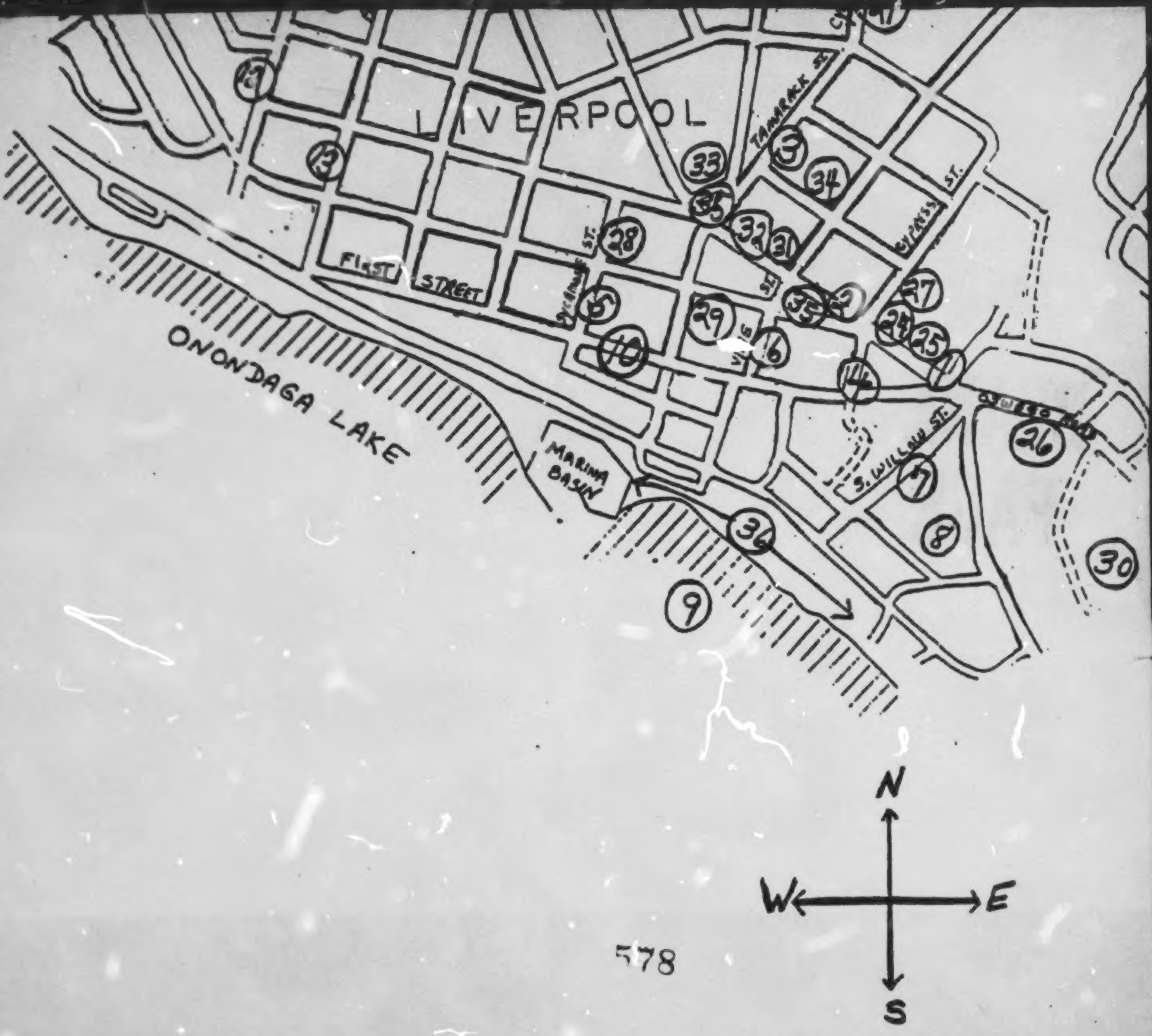
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Liverpool

Neighborhood Profile *

Direct Observations

Boundaries

Liverpool is located northwest of Syracuse, six miles from downtown. About two miles outside of Liverpool, one exits Route 81N and drives along the shore of Onondaga Lake. This is a particularly scenic drive because of the green, landscaped areas which border both the lake and the road. (About one mile before the village is a small bridge with white painted letters, saying "Liverpool - White Power KKK".)

Upon entering Liverpool by this route, one is in the southeast corner of the village near Oswego Road. This is a very busy, bustling commercial strip(1) with various kinds of businesses, shopping plazas, and various types of architecture. Although most of these businesses are located along Oswego Road(2) (up to Tamarack Street(3)), there are also businesses on some of the side streets which touch on Oswego.(2) These side streets are: Cypress,(4) Sycamore,(5) Vine(6) and South Willow(7) Streets. Essentially all commercial enterprises are concentrated in this southeast section of the village. Also found here is a large athletic facility, Griffin Field,(8) at which various recreational and special events are held throughout the year.

The southern boundary of Liverpool is formed by Onondaga Lake.(9)

The western section of the neighborhood, around Outlook,(11) Hickory(12) and Birch Streets(13) is strictly residential. Homes are all single-family in excellent condition. In this section is Zogg Middle School,(14) a large, stately looking brick building which has an extensive recreational area surrounding it. This area includes two tennis courts, two basketball courts and a soccer field. The facility is a good one in itself but is all the more so since it is attached to the educational and recreational facilities of the Liverpool Elementary School(15) and Liverpool Jr. High School(16) all amounting to approximately 12 acres. Both facilities are similar to the Zogg middle school in layout and upkeep; they are large, brick buildings

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* Eulas Boyd, Liz Kelly, and Mary Maples have each made important contributions to the preparation of this profile.

surrounded by decoratively landscaped, expansive grounds. (Note: Both the Liverpool Elementary and Jr. High are located outside the neighborhood as defined by the map, but are included here because of their practical importance to the area and because of the large number of neighborhood children observed using these facilities on the day of this observation.)

The northern end of the neighborhood(17) is basically outlined by a hilly, wooded and undeveloped piece of land. In this section two towering water tanks(18) stand on a large green field on top of a hill. (Two children were observed flying kites here.) One block east of these towers is St. Joseph's Elementary School and Church.(19) St. Joseph's is a new facility of modern design which also has a large surrounding recreational area. The church and part of the school are built into a small hill; a winding lane serves as an approach. This facility is as well maintained as the schools in the western section of the neighborhood. Across the street from St. Joseph's is a small, country-like cemetery(20) that is also built on a slight hill. The housing surrounding these facilities is similar to the housing found in the western section of the neighborhood -- well kept, middle class homes.

The eastern section of the neighborhood is bordered by Cypress Street,(21) a quiet, residential, tree lined street.

Internal Divisions

Visually, psychologically and socially the commercial district, which is in the southeast corner of the village forms the most striking internal boundary in the neighborhood. Basically this district is concentrated in the area to the immediate east of Griffin Field(8) and extends along Oswego Road,(2) ending at Tamarack Street.(3) There are also shops and small shopping plazas at the intersections of Oswego and several side streets. Shoppers on foot and in cars enter and leave the numerous businesses in this area. Traffic is often congested as vehicles wait their turn to merge with other commercial and private traffic that fills the streets. North, south, east, and west of this area the quiet residential character of the village predominates.

Residential

Homes in the eastern section appear to be older than in other sections of the neighborhood and although none are run down, some appear to be in need of painting. One exception is a small niche of houses along Melvin and 6th Streets(22) which are strikingly different from the rest of the neighborhood. There is a cluster of seven homes here that show all the visible signs of being "run-down" -- porches falling in, broken steps and back yards which contain assorted parts of old automobiles. Another striking difference observed in this section (which is technically just outside the neighborhood boundaries) is the presence of a very large, modern apartment complex(23) built entirely of natural wood. These apartments and the run-down homes mentioned above stand in sharp contrast to the rest of the neighborhood.

With the exception of the small niche of run down houses found in the northeast section of the neighborhood, the consistent picture of Liverpool is one of single-family, well kept homes. Throughout the area, residences have moderately-sized front and back yards and are separated from each other by varying amounts of space; none look crowded. Most streets are wide and lined by towering sugar maples. The fact that there are no cars parked on the street, because all homes have garages, adds to the feeling of spaciousness.

Homes surrounding the commercial center and eastern boundary are older and tend to be bigger. Many are built of brick and are landscaped by older trees, whereas homes in the northern and western sections appear to be newer and have more of a "planned" look to them. They are, for example, similar in design and construction. Many have bay windows and entranceways that are uniform from one house to another. Lawns and yards are landscaped with young trees and shrubs. Although there are some homes throughout the area with swimming pools and campers, the most expensive looking houses were found in the western section. The majority of houses there have fireplaces; neat bundles of wood stacked outside many residences.

In the southern section of the neighborhood, First Street(10) runs parallel to the lake shore and on it's eastern end (the part that touches on the commercial center) are stores and small houses in fairly good condition. However, as one moves west on First Street, away from the commerical center, homes become larger and are meticulously well kept; especially after Sycamore Street,(5) homes show greater signs of wealth and have a beautiful view of the lakefront.

No "Beware of Dog" or "For Sale" signs were observed.

Commercial Center

As stated before, the commercial center of the village is a bustling nook of activity which includes businesses, services, and a variety of large, old buildings which are architecturally varied and have an historical appearance. Businesses include a large food market, clothing shops, shoe store, insurance company, pharmacy, gift shops, and several outdoor equipment outlets. There is also a variety of eating places, some of which are fast food facilities such as McDonald's(24) and Pudgie's Pizza.(25) However, the most notable restaurant is one which is a landmark in the area, Hydes,(26) and is famous for its hot dogs. People come from all over Syracuse and outlying regions to eat here, often waiting in long lines which extend into the restaurant's parking lot. This is a particularly familiar sight in the summertime when weekend visitors come for the many recreational activities at Onondaga Lake(9) and the park which borders it. Other services here include the Post Office,(27) Fire Department,(28) Liverpool Public Library(29) and a drive-in movie theatre.(30)

Interspersed with the businesses in this area are several impressive looking buildings, each having a unique architectural style. The first is First United Methodist Church(31) which stands at on Oswego and Vine. This is a scenic, New England style church with a simple white exterior, single pinnacle, and a plain purple door. Next to this is a Masonic Temple(32) built entirely of plain brick with one large decorative entrance. Both of these buildings are in excellent condition and are surrounded by small green areas, traditionally landscaped with evergreens and assorted bushes. One block northwest, on the corner of Oswego and Tulip, stands the First Presbyterian Church.(33) This is another distinctive looking building although far more dominating as a result of its size, design and layout than either the Methodist Church or the Masonic Temple. First Presbyterian stands three stories high, has several ornate stained glass windows and is surrounded by extensive grounds with tall, evergreens. Just one block outside the commercial district, on Hazel and Vine Streets, is yet another church, St. Paul's Lutheran.(34) This appears to be a much newer building and is conservative in size and decor. A simple c[illegible] stands on top of its plain brick one story pinnacle. This structure also has a green, landscaped area surrounding it and is in excellent condition.

Although the commercial center is an active business district, it is also a pleasant, interesting area that combines the old fashioned look of a village with that of a progressive, affluent town. For example, in contrast to the graceful older buildings just mentioned, stands the modern, fresh architecture of the Liverpool Public Library(29) and Post Office(27) which are also in the heart of the commercial center. Another aspect which adds to this area's attractiveness is the presence of greenery. Apart from those areas surrounding the churches and Masonic Temple, there are two large village greens(35) on Oswego Road. These greens are lined with tall maples and are beautifully kept.

Services

The only service observed in the Village of Liverpool were those of the Post Office, Public Library, and two nursery schools affiliated with St. Paul's Methodist and First Presbyterian churches (previously described).

Recreational Centers and Playgrounds

The variety and extensive presence of recreational facilities is one of the more significant aspects of this neighborhood. Touching on the commercial center of the village is the well known athletic center, Griffin Field.(8) Here local football and baseball games are held as well as semi-professional games. In addtion to various athletic activities, Griffin Field also houses special events such as the Scottish Games. The field is a professional facility with bleachers, special lights for night games, and parking facilities for the many spectators who come here. Behind Griffin Field is an extensive park which borders Onondaga Lake(36) and runs along the entire southern border of Liverpool. This is a well used, popular spot for sun-bathing, jogging, picnicking, and walking. Another major athletic facility surrounds the handsome educational facilities in the western section (see page 2) of the neighborhood. There are to be found tennis courts, soccer fields, baseball diamonds, basketball courts, and wide open space. The entire facilities found here measure approximately 12 acres.

More recreational facilities surround St. Joseph's School(19) in the northern section of the neighborhood. There are basketball courts, a playground, soccer field and open play space. All these facilities are excellently maintained -- no litter, grafitti or broken apparatus was observed. In addition to these more formal facilities, other "greens" exist, such as the large area surrounding the water tanks (see page 2) and smaller triangular areas where adults and children were observed relaxing.

People

Due to the beautiful weather, many people were outside engaged in a variety of activities. Some adults were working on their campers while others raked leaves or did some other form of yard work. Numerous children were seen playing on the sidewalks, village greens or athletic fields. Many had expensive looking bikes and all were well dressed. A number of young mothers were slowly pushing baby carriages or relaxing in one of the recreational facilities. Several older people were also observed but they were all in the area surrounding the commerical district and around the eastern border. One young man who stood out from all the others because of his shabby clothing was observed on Melvin Avenue(22) which is the area containing several run down houses. By far the greatest number of people I saw were young children and young mothers.

I also saw several teenagers, but these were all located in the commercial area. Only two Blacks were observed and they were on line outside Hyde's(26) Restaurant. The rest of the people observed in the neighborhood were white.

Demographic Profile of Project Families *

The Liverpool neighborhood survey characterized the neighborhood as a middle-income suburban area, with non-ethnic white residents. Demographic characteristics of the sixteen families in the sample from this village confirm this description. All are white, and when asked about ethnicity, all responded "American," with the exception of three people who said they were of West European descent, two who described themselves as English and one as Irish. The families are fairly evenly divided between Catholic and Protestant affiliation. All of the households consist of married couples, most of whom have two or three children. The average number of children per family is 2.6.

The Liverpool sample seems to consist of a very stable group of people. Only six of the families had moved in the past four years. The other ten families had lived in the village an average of eight years. The great majority of the couples own their own homes and all but one family has at least one car. Most of the parents are under 35 years old; the womens' average age is 32, and the mens', 33. The field staff reported that there are many older people in the village of Liverpool, and that the families in the sample, even though quite a bit younger, seemed to enjoy coexisting with the older people.

All but one of the men have at least a high school education; three have completed college or done graduate work. The women tend to have a little more education than their husbands. All the wives completed high school and five finished college. Over half of the mothers work outside the home, four working full-time, and six part-time.

Financially, these families appear to be quite well off, making from $11,000 to $29,000 per year. The average annual family income is $19,884. There are no families receiving welfare benefits. All of the men are employed; five work more than 40 hours per week. Most of the men have blue collar (N=7) or white collar (N=7) jobs, while two have professional level positions.

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* This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

Overall, Liverpool appears to be a very settled community and is described by the field staff as "insulated" and "middle class." The families in the sample are notable for their homogeneity; all are two-parent, non-ethnic white families with above average levels of education and income.

The social network data collected from the Liverpool parents shows that among the ten program neighborhoods, Liverpool parents rank ninth in the number of neighbors who are also relatives. However, they ranked quite high (third) in terms of the average number of contacts with neighbors for child-related and practical support. This finding is supported by the field staffs' description of the Liverpool couples. They found that many of the parents could not easily turn to their own extended families for child care and other kinds of practical support since their relatives did not live nearby. They were, however, willing to ask their neighbors for help in child care and related kinds of support.

Respondents' Perceptions

The people of Liverpool comprise a stable, white, community, characterized (as in our sample) by two-parent families with above average income. They boast of peaceful, treelined streets and a general atmosphere conducive to raising children. Few people mentioned tension caused by the environment in which they lived. Racial differences were mentioned by only one person who felt "badly because we don't have exposure to racial and cultural differences unless we go into the city." The variety of ages of different people in the neighborhood was generally considered to be a positive attribute. The older people were often thought of as providing stability to the community and, at times, took on roles appropriate to members of an extended family.

Most people defined their neighborhood as the "Village of Liverpool," and identified village boundaries as the borders of the neighborhood. They also centered their concerns around the village rather than the city of Syracuse. If a problem arose, respondents felt confident in their ability to change things through the village Board of Trustees or at the village meetings.

People found it important to be able to walk to the stores concentrated in the southeastern section of the neighborhood and to the various recreational areas located throughout. This general sense of well-being was reflected in respondent's ratings of their neighborhood. All but one respondent felt that their neighborhood was "generally good" or "excellent." The one family which constituted the exception cited specific differences with immediate neighbors. They planned to move, but stay within the Liverpool area.

The main problems that people mentioned did not stem from the immediate environment, but rather from concerns posed by the larger society and by "uncertain times" and changing values. People seemed to be searching for the traditions and ideals of their parents' generation. To some extent, the environment of the neighborhood and homes helps to recreate some of this feeling.

The general atmosphere of the neighborhood often enhanced peoples' attitudes about it. Some people compared the area to a small New England town. One man described the area in the following way:

> I am proud of the neighborhood. It's a pleasant, pretty, and clean area to live in. All the trees make it really pleasant and good looking.

Many other people found "the village setting" with "older type homes, houses that have character" important to them. They felt they had the best of both country and city living.

> It's attractive. I like being on the lake and close to the commercial part, but it's like the country.

Although the commercial area has been slowly growing, it is still contained to the southeast section of the neighborhood. Both the variety of stores and their close proximity were often mentioned as an asset by respondents. Even though half the families in our sample owned two cars and all but one family had one car, the fact that people could walk to the commercial area was what they liked about their location. Two respondents explained:

> I like it. It's close to the stores. You can walk anyplace you have to get to.

> It's close to the village -- we can bicycle or walk to the library, to (my daughters) school, to the store. We don't have to rely on a car.

Recreational areas were often viewed as plentiful, if not always within walking distance. Walking distance was often determined by how many or how young the children in the family were. If parents did not feel the younger ones could make the distance, they felt the short drive was an easy alternative.

The most frequently mentioned area was the park that extends for several miles along Onondaga Lake. Many people take their children to the small playground located here or use the park for family picnics. A number of people mentioned that their families like to bicycle along the shore.

The number of open fields around the schools and around the neighborhood were not mentioned as recreational areas that people used, except in special circumstances where the fields extended from backyards. One explanation might be the focus of the interviews on the three year old child in the family. People tended to look for places that had playgrounds or areas of structured activity for recreation. One parent, who had older children in the family made the general comment that "this is nice for kids, because they can walk to most places without us driving."

Other than playgrounds, people frequently mentioned the library and pet store in the village as important places to have nearby. Over half of the people interviewed felt that close proximity to the library made it easy for them to take part in the various programs offered for children. The once-a-week story hour was the most frequently mentioned, but a few people said that they had taken their children to puppet shows and movies there as well. Sometimes, people brought their children there just "to see the bulletin boards and pick out books." Visiting the pet store was mentioned by five people as an activity they like to do with their children. Walking there was considered part of this activity and going in "just to look" was the goal. In fact, when describing recreational areas, respondents often concluded their statements with comments like; "(We) have a lot of nice places to walk."

A few people recognized that there were playgrounds in the area, but complained that they were not within walking distance because of the children's age. Most of these people talked about a playground in the village center that is accessible, but at which the swings and slides had been dismantled. There were various reasons given as to why this playground was unusable. "The village fathers are afraid someone will get hurt and sue them," was one of them. All of the people who felt affected by the condition of this particular playground felt that they might be able to change things by talking to the Village Trustee, Town Board, or bringing it up at the next village meeting.

Another type of recreation that some people felt that the area lacked was a swimming pool. These people wanted to start their children on swimming lessons, but felt that the drive into the city or to other areas that had these facilities was too far. People felt that this problem would be solved when the branch of the YMCA located near them was completed. (As of this writing, the YMCA in this area is open and operational.)

Although the playground in the center of the village was not equipped, the park was frequently used for other activities that people enjoyed:

> They have band concerts, and field days, and art shows. There's always something going on there and you can stop and have a variety of experiences there. I think that's neat.

A number of respondents felt that they had access to recreational areas for their own use. Country clubs, tennis clubs (that provided babysitting), and Rod and Gun clubs were the most frequently mentioned. Often people said that these clubs provided "a nice, active, social outlet" for them individually, or with their spouses for "the few hours together away from the house."

There was one instance, however, in which a person felt that belonging to a group created tension. Specifically, one mother mentioned a drama group that at times, required a lot of time away from home.

> (It) interferes because it requires a strong commitment and a lot of time. I really try to juggle it, but, at times, I feel torn and guilty, but I can't give it up. It's the one thing outside the family that I can truly involve myself in.

Child care was viewed as "generally good" or better by three-fourths of the respondents and most people in the sample relied solely or heavily upon relatives. Leaving children with relatives often gave parents "peace of mind" while they were gone. Usually, if there was one relative used, several others were also available to babysit. In these circumstances, people felt that they were "very fortunate to have all these babysitters. It makes it easy to get out and do things." The only complaint voiced in these circumstances was from those who relied entirely on relatives.

> The people that I have available to me are terrific. I can't find any fault with them at all. My only complaint is, I wish I had more people outside the family. I don't like to depend solely on my family and relatives.

There was a subgroup of people who did not rely on relatives but felt good about their own arrangements. These people used a combination of paid sitters and an exchange arrangement with one or more neighbors. All but one of these people relied on at least one of these arrangements several times a week. They all felt comfortable with the quality and availability of the care provided.

Three people rated their child care situations lower than the rest, even though they had several sources of care that they found reliable and available. Two of these people found that living too far from their relatives was their major problem. The focus of their feelings was not so much for their relatives' use as babysitters, but for their contribution to a sense of belonging and general influence they could provide for children. Those two respondents described their situations as follows:

> The isolation is very difficult for me -- being away from my mother, father, and my sister. I think there are many more influences in the world today to affect my kids and there's no place to run...I tell you, you just never know how much you rely on your family until you have kids of your own. Then you really see.
>
> The isolation I feel is awesome...When I was young, I had so many more adult models around and I'm certain this made it easier on my parents. Everyone helped out...when I was young and if I got sick, my mother could turn to my grandmother for advice that was founded on raising five kids. Today, I have to go to a pediatrician and pay money and he doesn't even really know (my son).

The other person relied on two of her relatives but wanted outside sitters as well.

Only two people used formalized services for child care, with the exception of those who used care at their tennis club or while attending church. These two people used a center referred to as "Mother's Day Out." Both of these mothers used this center on a regular basis, approximately five hours per week. The thing that they liked the best was the exposure their children were getting to others who are the same age as their own. One of the mothers felt that it was good that her son "learns to conform to the rules."

Irrespective of the type of care people used, all but one person felt they could rely on neighbors, relatives, or friends if something unexpected came up. The one exception was a mother who felt that without her family around there was no one she could rely on.

All but one family felt that their involvement with a particular church was important to them. Frequently, this extended beyond weekly attendance. Many of these people belonged to women's and men's groups affiliated with their church and attended other social functions as well. Many sent their children to Sunday school, and for one woman, her involvement in the church choir provided her with a "creative outlet."

The church was seen as having an important role in strengthening the family for quite a number of people.

> Church is important for keeping the family together, especially, as the kids get older. Good people tend to belong to church.

Several people mentioned involvement in "marriage encounter" groups or had sought helpful advice on dealing with family problems from a priest or minister. When asked about community counseling services, everyone who had looked for help, or thought that they might in the future felt that they would go through their church or a church-related organization.

People often used their church as a way to get to know other people.

> A lot of our life really revolves around (church). A lot of the people we have gotten to know, we've met through church. Although, a lot of our conversations and social activities aren't based there, we meet at each others homes. I would say that that is probably 75% of the bond with people we're really the closest to. It's given us a foundation to build on as far as the people we call on for help or who we have helped.

The close proximity of the school and the quality of the school district were often cited as "another reason we moved here." The fact that the school was within walking distance and that children would not have to be bussed was the main attribute.

> We are very close to the elementary school and (my son) has already begun to identify it as "his school" and is looking forward to going. I like

> the fact that the children will be able to walk to school when it's time. This is one of the major reasons we chose this neighborhood.

The close location of the school also provided parents and children with more flexibility in their schedules.

> The children can walk to school rather than take the bus, so we have a lot more time in the morning to get ready with a little more flexible schedule.
>
> I like that the kids can walk to school...it gives them more freedom to come and go as they want. If they have to stay for extra activities, they can without problem of transportation.

Most families in the Liverpool area used private physicians for their health care needs. They were, generally, confident about the quality of care they received, although a few people complained about the cost involved. Two people used health clinics for their children's medical needs. One of these women used the clinic not because of financial reasons, but because she felt the quality of care was better than what she was able to get from her private pediatrician. She retained the pediatrician for emergency use only. Both women were pleased with the quality of care they received.

One service that was important to three women in the neighborhood was a volunteer organization called FISH which provides transportation for people in the community who need it. Two of the people helped provide transportation, while one person was on the receiving end of this service.

Two factors that were less frequently mentioned (less than three responses), but were important to certain people, were the close proximity to the fire station and easy access to bus service.

Safety was a concern for respondents only when speaking about traffic conditions. The ten people who mentioned the subject were evenly divided in their opinions. Comments ranged from the positive statement:

> There isn't a lot of traffic on our street, yet we're right on main routes. For us, it's kind of an ideal location. It's a very comfortable place to live.

to:

> The traffic in front of our house has become so bad, I don't let (my son) outside in the front yard without someone to watch him. I hate being forced to do this, but the traffic is so bad, I don't dare do otherwise.

The wide variety of perceptions of the traffic problem probably reflects the differing nature of the streets in the neighborhood and varying distances from the commercial area. As illustrated in the above comments, people's perceptions may differ, even when both consider themselves on a "main route."

Only two people talked about safety in the neighborhood in terms of crime and vandalism. Both people felt that there was no need to worry about this in Liverpool.

Most people described their neighbors favorably, noting "the different age groups -- elderly, middle-aged, people with small children. Also, (thereis) a mixture of large and small families." Over half of the respondents specifically noted the presence of older people in the neighborhood. When speaking in general terms, they often used the word "exposure." They felt that "older people are good for the kids."

Some people noted specific ways in which these "older" people helped them as parents.

> We've gotten to know the (older) couples next to us and actually they've been valuable for the wisdom we don't have from our own parents (because our parents live so far away). Again, it gives the kids an exposure to all different ages.

But, it was not only the parents who benefitted from these relationships

> There's an older guy who lives right next door and he's kind of adopted (my daughter) as the granddaughter he never had. There's kind of a special rapport between them. She sees him out in the yard and wanders over and sits and talks to him.

Two people presented exceptions to this favorable view of the older segment of the population. Both of these people also complained of the lack of young children as playmates for their own children. One woman felt that her neighbors, "mostly retired," were "nosy busybodies with nothing else to do but gossip." The other person wished that she had "more people our own age to establish friendships with, closer kinds of friendships." This family after living in the neighborhood a year and a half decided to put their house up for sale and move to "a new housing development here in Liverpool. It's a development for young families so we're hopeful of finding children for (my son) and younger couples for (us)."

There was also one person who desired closer relationship with her neighbors, but felt that couples her own age could not really understand her because of differences in "ideas of family."

> Rarely is there somebody that can really understand us and that we can use to weigh our ideas of family, because it seems that our ideas of family are not common anymore. A generation older than us there were quite a few people that you could turn to, but not our age. I can think of two families our age who also have four or five children and we have a real strong bond with them, but they're not in our immediate neighborhood.

Even though the majority of residents felt positive about their neighbors, generally speaking in the terms; "nice," "friendly," "willing to help out;" several people complained of alienation. It was most often related, as with the woman previously quoted, to the loss of ideas and ideals of the previous generation. One gets the impression that if some of these individuals could turn back the pages of time; they would certainly do so.

> We seem to be getting more alienated without enough support systems in the community to aid in blocking this separation. There is a gross difference from when I was a kid and we could run in and out of our neighbors houses...there was a sense of community trust I feel very sorry my children won't be able to experience. We are losing this trust.

Explicit in these quotations, and perhaps implicit in the many favorable statements regarding the exposure respondents' children have to older people in the neighborhood, is a desire to retain some of the values of an earlier time. Often, when people talked about their homes, they cited the "character" of an older home or compared it to "the house we grew up in."

> I love our house. It's an old house; it has roots; it's not just a house. It has a character that's all its own and I love this; it's established.

But, people seem to sense the disparity in their ideals and the reality of their lives. This was made most apparent when asked at the end of the interview, what their "most serious problems" were. A few examples were stated as follows:

> The most serious problem for me is trying to deal with the expectation I had when we had the children...to the degree that (I) wasn't realistic, it causes problems for me. It could be less lonely.
>
> (My most serious problem is) the immediate, day to day need to talk to someone and the reality of everyday life and there being nobody there.

And for this woman who felt that society had changed to such a degree that the only ones who got ahead were those who "lie, cheat, and steal:"

> I think the uncertain future is the most stressful aspect of my parenting role. To feel so insecure about your children's future is a little frightening.

This issue of a "changing society" was also talked about in reference to other children. The only specific complaints about other children were made by six respondents who felt that there weren't any young children for playmates. Those families whose children had children to play with, never had a problem with the "type" of children available. The concerns expressed were about the future role they might play and the problems parents face that they never had to face before.

> Peer pressure makes (parenting) harder, especially when the kids hit school age.
>
> The drug thing and the teenage pregnancy issue, both make it difficult. I worry and I'm at a loss as to how to prepare my kids for these kinds of issues adequately.

People were very satisfied with the condition of their homes. There were isolated complaints concerning roofing, water in the basement, and the disarray in some of the homes where people were in the process of remodeling. Most people described their homes as "spacious," pleased with the amount of bedrooms and available play space for their children. They often pointed to the areas outside the home (i.e., backyard, porches and sidewalks) that increased the amount of space available to them. Two out of the sixteen families in our sample, rented their homes. Both of them were happy with the amount of room they had inside their homes. But, it was the home owners who seemed most exuberant about their housing situation:

> It's a comfortable house. It feels like our own place when we walk in. We've been able to put roots here.
>
> It's a homey, nice little house. It's paid for -- all ours.
>
> My heart is in this house...the kind of house we always wanted -- it's great.

Despite people's general satisfaction with their homes, there were a few isolated complaints where people felt they needed more storage space, a game room, a larger back yard, or another bathroom and bedroom.

People were often proud of the condition of their own homes and that of the surrounding houses. They seldom seemed to worry about the general upkeep of the neighborhood. However, one family did experience problems with a next door neighbor whom they had asked to paint his garage. When he did not, they built a fence between their houses, apparently, not improving relations. It annoyed this family "terribly that a few people don't keep their houses up." Although this family was fairly satisfied with the people they had as neighbors, they felt they would like at least one change:

> I could trade some of them in for higher social economic people who cared about their property.

Privacy was seldom an issue when people were talking about their neighbors. Most of the people who talked about it felt that they could "do or be what we want." They attributed this to individual home ownership and the fact that "the houses aren't one on top of the other." There was a potential concern voiced about this matter by the only family who lived in a building with several other apartments. Although they presently were not experiencing any difficulties, the fact that they didn't have any control over who moved in or out was a mild concern for them. They felt this could be a problem in the future.

Privacy was usually talked about in the context of the home. No one seemed to experience any difficulties here. People frequently mentioned the amount of "floor space" and bedrooms available to them as reasons why they had no problems. But, probably the most important reason people cited was the physical layout of their homes. The two-story structures that the majority of people lived in, with the bedrooms upstairs, was frequently mentioned as a reason people liked their homes. This was "because (my husband) and I can carry on normal activities without waking the children." Some people also felt that the physical layout of their homes provided their children with needed privacy

> She can be up in the living room doing her own thing and I can see or hear what she is doing. So they're supervised without feeling like I'm supervising them. I think they're a lot of positive reasons why that has to happen sometimes.

In what most people considered an environment that posed no great problems to their job as parents, it was the informal help from their immediate and extended families where people received their "greatest source of suppport." They often included their upbringing, religion, and own "inner resources" as important sources of help.

When people were asked to define their most serious problems, one-quarter said that they didn't have any. An equal number of people cited the alienation (previously discussed) brought on by a "changing society" and "the insecurity of the times" as their biggest problem. Linked to this, was the lack of reinforcement that four mothers felt they needed but didn't get regarding their parenting role.

> Just wondering if I'm doing the right thing with the kids. It's what I worry about most.
>
> The insecurity of not knowing whether I am doing the right thing with my kids...for example, am I giving (my son) enough freedom?

> Am I doing what I should be doing? Am I being
> a good parent? I never know if I'm good enough.

Two parents felt that the lack of agreement with their spouses over how to discipline the children was the most serious problem they faced. There was only one family who felt that money presented their biggest problem because, "we're both kind of trying to get the kids things we never had which is kind of hard."

Only a few people made statements concerning their commitment to stay in the neighborhood. The majority of these pertained to the close proximity of the schools and the perception that the quality of the schools was good. People also felt that their neighborhood provided them with the necessary stores and most of the recreational facilities they desired. Home ownership by seven-eights of our sample and satisfaction with their homes are additional reasons why people would be expected to stay. No one expressed fear for personal safety or of people being a bad influence on their children. The two people who wanted to move, planned to stay in the Liverpool area.

Because of the village atmosphere, "pretty" residential areas, and good school systems, many people chose to live in this neighborhood in the first place. In this stable community, people have found the fulfillment of what most people would consider a dream come true.

TIPPERARY HILL:

NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

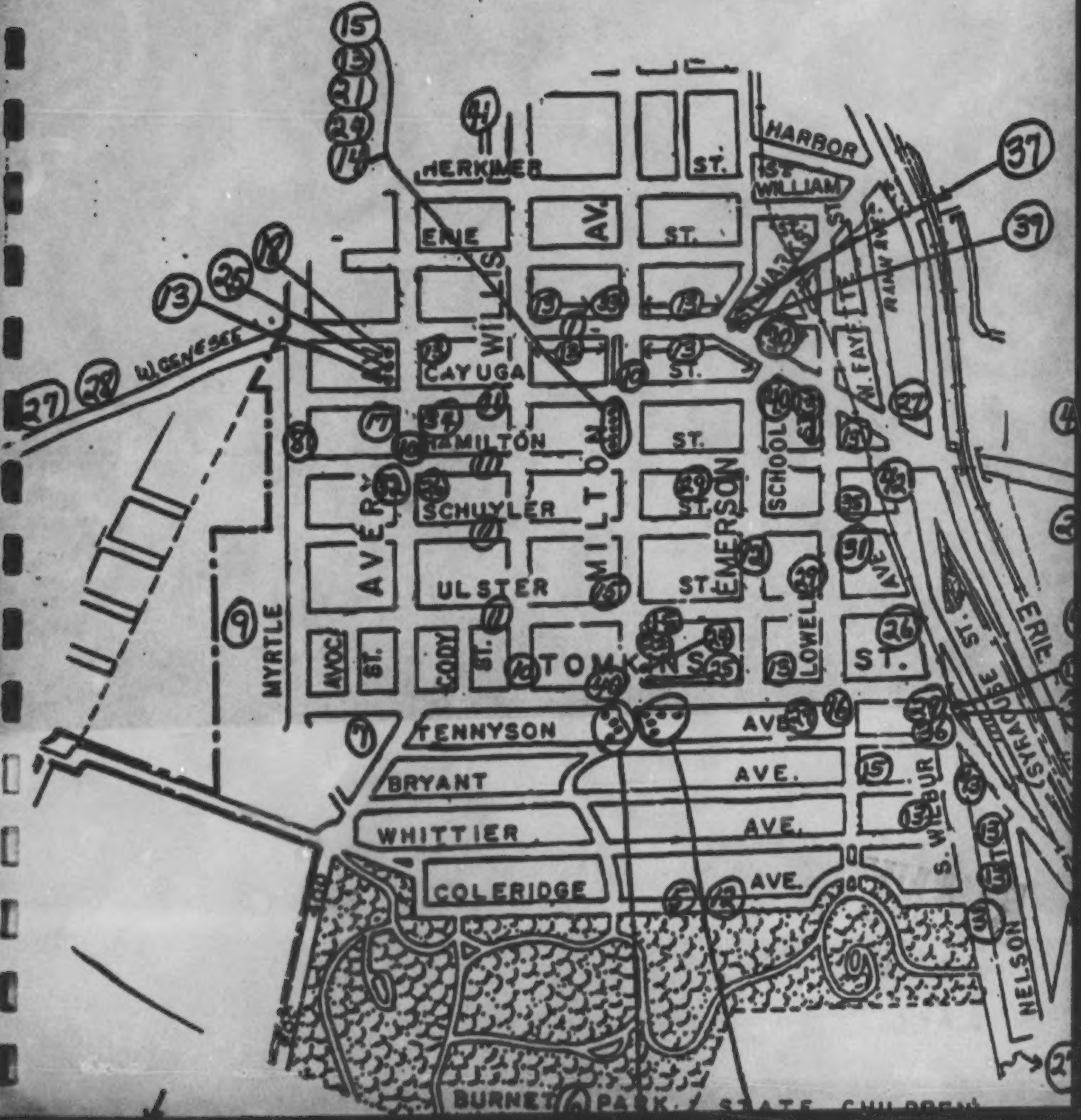
Betsy Edinger

Ann Pitkin

KEY: Tipperary Hill

1. Northern Boundary; West Genessee Street
2. downtown
3. Eastern Boundary: S. Wilbur Avenue
4. railroad yards and factory warehouses
5. Southern Boundary: Cooleridge Avenue
6. Burnet Park
7. Arboretum
8. Western Boundary: Myrtle Avenue
9. graveyard
10. streets that carry the most traffic:
    Avery Ave., Milton Ave., & Tompkins St.
11. streets that carry some traffic, but not as heavily travelled as 10:
    Cayuga St., Hamilton St., Schuyler, Ulster
12. streets that have slightly more affluent homes than the rest of the neighborhood:
    Coleridge Ave. & Emerson Avenue
13. small pockets of stores
14. small restaurants
15. convenience grocery stores
16. Coleman's
17. Wheeler's
18. laundromat
19. drycleaners
20. clock repair shop
21. glass stores
22. liquor stores
23. shoe repair shop
24. beauty salons
25. ceramic shops
26. bars
27. shopping plazas
28. movie theaters
29. Eastern Orthodox Church (3)
30. Episcopal Church (i)
31. Roman Catholic (l)
32. Pentacostal (l)
33. Methodist (l)
34. Seventh Day Adventist (l)
35. St. Patricks (Catholic School)
36. St. John the Baptist Ukranian School
37. Public elementary school (Porter)
38. Public high school (Fowler)
39. Public Library
40. funeral homes
41. Lewis Park
42. Boys Club
43. Ukranian National Home Bowling Center

TIPPERARY HILL


HERKIMER
ST.
HARBOR
ST. WILLIAM
ERIE
AV.
ST.
WILLIS
CAYUGA
ST.
HAMILTON
ST.
SCHUYLER
ST.
ULSTER
ST.
AVERY
AVE
MILTON
EMERSON
SCHOOL
LOWELL
W. FAYETTE
RAILWAY AVE
AVE
TOMPKINS
ST.
AVOC
ST.
CODY
ST.
MYRTLE
W. GENESEE
TENNYSON
AVE
BRYANT
AVE.
WHITTIER
AVE.
COLERIDGE
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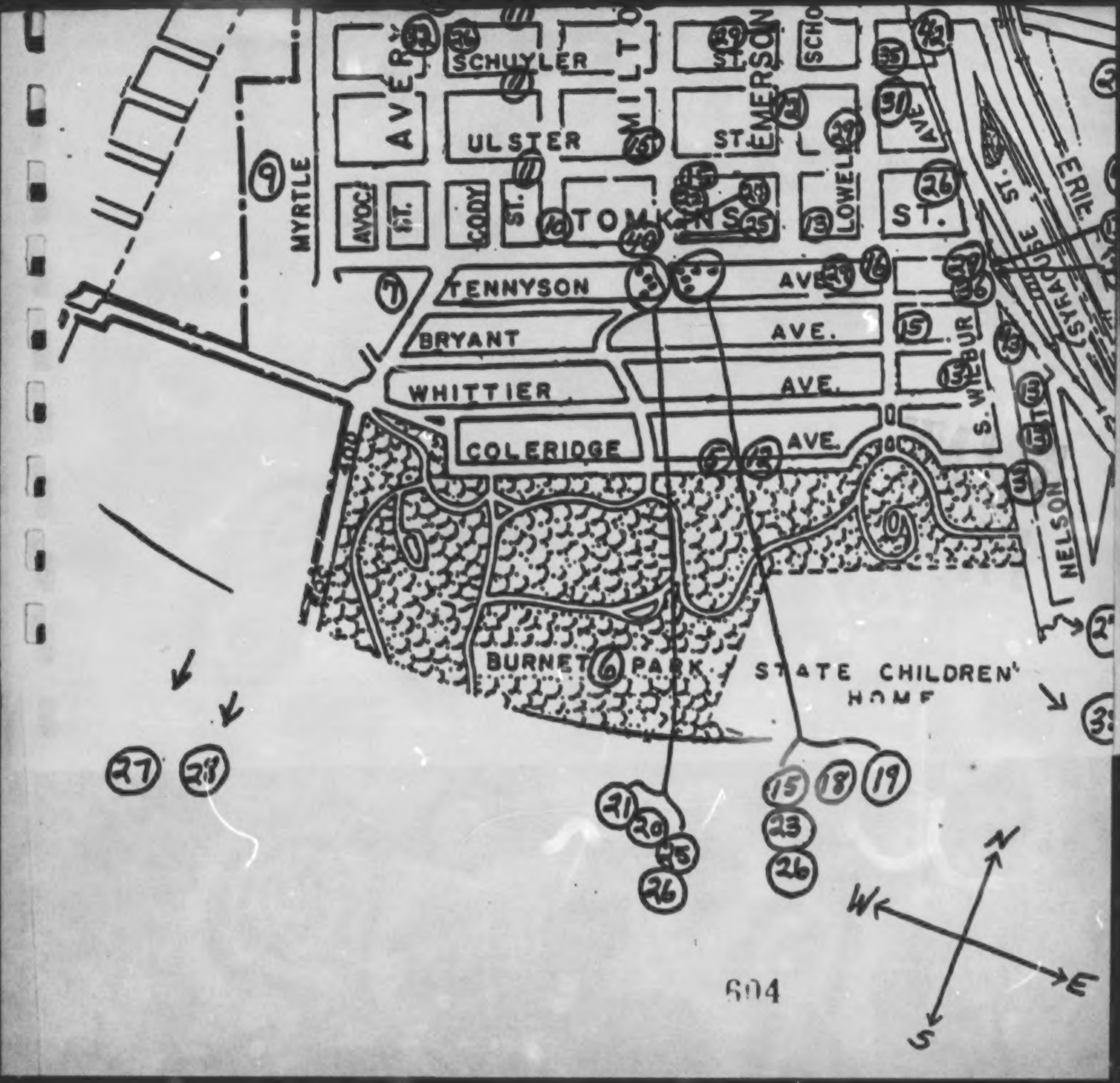
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Tipperary Hill
Neighborhood Profile *

Direct Observations

Neighborhood boundaries

The boundaries of the neighborhood known as Tipperary Hill surround a predominately residential section inside the city of Syracuse.

The northern boundary is West Genesse Street,[1] a major artery to the downtown area[2]. This street changes in character as it borders the neighborhood. On the western part, is mostly single-unit housing, but the street becomes increasingly commercial as it heads eastward, towards downtown.

The eastern boundary, S. Wibur Ave.[3], is a residential street with some commercial establishments. It separates the neighborhood from the sight of railroad yards[4] and factory warehouses that lie to the east.

Cooleridge Ave.[5] is a lightly travelled side street that marks the southern edge of the neighborhood. Homes are built on only one side of this street and overlook the grounds of Burnet Park[6] directly across.

The western edge of the neighborhood is bordered by various open and wooded areas. In the southwest corner is an arboretum[7]. Extending from the arboretum behind the houses on Myrtle Ave.[8] is a graveyard[9]. Both of these areas appear to be in good condition. Between the graveyard and W. Genesee St., one home can be seen amidst the heavily wooded area that surrounds it.

Internal Divisions

The outer boundaries of the neighborhood tend to separate it from other residential communities nearby. Inside the neighborhood there are few physical factors, which divide the area.

Some of the streets carry more traffic than others. Avery Ave.,[10] Milton Ave.,[10] and Tompkins St.[10] are the more heavily travelled of these streets. However, the traffic

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*The authors wish to acknowledge the valuable contributions made by Eulas Boyd, Liz Keily, and Mary Maples.

is slowed by successive intervals of stop signs and traffic lights. Cayuga[11], Hamilton,[11] Schuyler[11], and Ulster Streets[11] carry less traffic, but are not as quiet as the remaining side streets. All of the streets mentioned would be a hazard for small children, but they are not so heavily travelled as to create barriers inside the neighborhood.

There are also small pockets of housing that differ somewhat in style, size, and condition from the majority of houses. Along Myrtle Avenue[8] to the west is a pocket of newer homes. Coleridge and Emerson Aves. have several homes that are larger and appear to house more affluent families[12] than most of the other houses. In the northwest corner, on Wilbur Ave.,[3] are some homes whose condition is slightly worse than the rest. These differences appear to be more variations from the norm rather than conditions that set certain areas distinctly apart.

Residential Areas

Tipperary Hill is a predominately residential area with small pockets of stores[13] and restaurants[14] located where some of the busier streets intersect. Most of the homes are older, two-story, wood framed structures that vary slightly in style and ornamentation from house to house. Some of these houses appear to be divided into apartments; often the only indication of this is the number of mailboxes outside their doors, but other houses in the neighborhood were originally built as two family flats. The only apartment house noted here was a brick structure that was not much larger than many of the surrounding houses.

Very few of the houses are not well kept up. Despite their age, few seem to need structural repair. Occasionally, a house can be seen that needs touch-up painting. Almost all have open or enclosed porches.

Back yards are available to most people. They vary in size, but all are large enough for people to use for recreational activities. Many people have swingsets, grills, or basketball hoops behind their houses. There are often picnic tables and laundry lines here, too, and frequently these yards adjoin the yards from the next block over. Usually there is a fence running between these yards, but this is not always the case between next-door neighbors. Many people have planted gardens in the back and front yards as well.

This residential community's atmosphere is enhanced by the variety of old trees that line the streets. The houses are built on rolling hills giving a unique character to the neighborhood. Few signs were posted on people's property. There were a few "For Sale" signs seen, and only one "Beware of Dog" sign. Despite the city's "leash-law," many dogs were running free.

There were several indications of identification with the Irish community. A number of shamrocks were built into the stained glass windows of one church, and in other places Shamrocks hung in front of bars and restaurants. The most notable example is the traffic light on the corner of Tompkins St. and Milton Ave. Here, the green light is on top. This neighborhood gives the impression of being a quiet community where people respect one another's property.

Commercial Areas

Commercial establishments within the boundaries of the Tipperary Hill neighborhood are limited to a variety of small stores, restaurants, and services located in small pockets interspersed throughout the neighborhood. The small, convenience grocery[15] stores are usually built on the first floor of a building, with apartments overhead. The several small restaurants have a tavern-like atmosphere. Two of these, Coleman's[16] and Wheeler's[17] are well known in the city for their fine food. They have a very healthy business for lunch and evening meals and there is a high level of activity around these places during those hours. There are also other small businesses located within the neighborhood which includes a laundromat,[18] a dry cleaners,[19] a clock repair and sale shop,[20] several glass business,[21] liquor stores,[22] a shoe repair shop,[23] beauty salons,[24] and two ceramic shops.[25] There are, in addition, several bars.[26] Two of these, Jack McGroarty's and Shenanigan's, display shamrocks and one calls itself an Irish Pub.

Major shopping areas[27] are located in each direction. Each of these shopping plazas has at least a supermarket and drugstore, but there are also discount stores and speciality shops located in two of these plazas. In addition, there are two movie theaters[28] located nearby. All of these areas are within a five-minute drive from the neighborhood, and the stores in the downtown area[2] are within a ten minute drive.

Services

There are quite a number of churches located within the neighborhood. The single most prevalent denomination is Eastern Orthodox, although a great many residents are Irish Catholic. Three Eastern Orthodox[29] churches stand in the neighborhood. In addition, there are churches for each of the following denominations: Episcopalian[30], Roman Catholic[31], Pentacostal[32], Methodist[33], and Seventh Day Adventist[34]. All of these are in good condition, but the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches stand out because of their unique and imposing architecture.

There are two religiously affiliated schools in the neighborhood: St. Patrick's (Catholic)[35] and St. John the Baptist Ukranian Catholic School[36]. There is a public elementary school[37] located just outside the neighborhood across the heavily travelled Genesee Street, and a public high school[38] is just outside the southeastern section of the neighborhood.

A branch of the Public Library[39] is on W. Genesee Street, and two funeral homes[40] are within the boundaries of the neighborhood.

Recreational Centers and Playgrounds

Burnet Park[6] which borders the southern edge of the neighborhood, is one of the city's largest and finest parks. It houses the city's zoo, and has a swimming pool and baseball diamond for summer recreation. It has playground facilities and large open areas that overlook the city. All of these areas are in good condition and very little litter can be seen. There is also a smaller park, Lewis Park[14], and an arboretum[7] that offer places for families to go within the neighborhood. Both of these are in excellent condition. In addition, there is a Boy's Club[42] in the neighborhood that provides recreational activities for children, further the "Ukranian National Home Bowling Center"[43] provides recreation for people of a variety of ages.

People

There were people of all ages in the neighborhood. Older people were seen apparently on errands or shoveling out their driveways. Mothers with young children could be seen walking along the streets, as well as, children walking home from school.

During the lunch hours, groups of businessmen and working women were seen entering the various tavern-restaurants, especially Coleman's,[16] which was previously mentioned. No Black or other minority groups were seen in any part of the neighborhood.

There was an air of friendliness surrounding these various activities. People would often stop to exchange a few words with one another and frequently initiated a "hello" as I walked past. The mailman also contributed to this atmosphere, talking to various people he encountered. (I had a rather lengthy discussion about the weather with him.) A kind of trusting friendliness best describes the interaction I observed in this neighborhood.

Demographic Profile*

The Tipperary Hill project families are a relatively homogeneous group. Ony two of the sixteen families are headed by single mothers. All the families are white and at least one parent in eight of the sixteen families describes him or herself as Irish. The neighborhood is known in Syracuse as the Irish section of the city, although it has also been the site of recent Russian and East European immigration. It is no coincidence that this is the area that has the nation's only traffic light with the green light placed over the red. Nine of the families are Catholics, two are Protestants, two are a mixture of Catholic and Protestant spouses, and one is Eastern Orthodox. The women range in age from the mid-twenties to mid-thirties and their husbands are mostly in their thirties. Four of the families have a single child and seven have three or more; the average number of children is 2.56. The vast majority of parents have a high school education.

The figures on length of time in the neighborhood indicate that the parents in the Tipperary sample are residentially stable. The average length of time in the neighborhood is slightly over six years and only two families, one a single-parent family, have lived in the neighborhood two years or less. Nine of the sixteen families have not moved in the previous four years. The sample is evenly split among home owners and renters; figures on monthly housing costs indicate that eleven of the families pay less than $200 a month in mortgage or rent and no one pays more than $250.00. Five of those who rent live in apartments and three in single or two-family dwellings. Only one parent, a single mother, does not own a car.

Many Tipperary Hill families describe themselves as working class and this is borne out at least by the data on their incomes and occupations. Five of the families, including the two single parents, have incomes below $10,000. One family in this lower income group has an unemployed father and their income derives largely from unemployment benefits. Seven families earn between $10,000 and $19,999 and four earn over $20,000.

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*This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

Two of these in the higher bracket achieve this status with the help of a wife's earnings. Two of the families, including one of the single mothers, receive welfare payments; none of the families reported receiving food stamps. Examination of the fathers' occupations reveals that ten of the fourteen are in blue collar occupations and that one of the four in a white collar occupation has a blue collar second job. Eight of the men work more than forty hours a week, and two of these have second jobs. Six of the mothers are employed, two part-time and four full-time. Three of the full-time working women are married and contribute over $5,000 yearly to their family's total income.

The information on the parents' social networks shows that the Tipperary Hill parents rank fifth among all program neighborhoods in total average numbers of neighborhood contacts. Their middle position relative to the other program neighborhoods is maintained when one looks at average number of contacts used for child-related, practical, and emotional support. Families in this neighborhood also rank in the middle on the mean number of neighbors who are also relatives and mean number of neighbors mentioned as part of the parent's primary network. These figures suggest that neighbors are at least a moderately important source of support for Tipperary Hill families.

Respondents' Perceptions

The people of Tipperary Hill give the impression that their neighborhood is a special one, comparing it with their own memories of what neighborhoods used to be like. They say that they have "a good mixture" of people who share common goals and concerns for one another. Many people characterized themselves as working class people, who depended more on the informal help of their neighbors and relatives than on public services. The neighborhood was also seen as providing the necessary conveniences of everyday life. All but two respondents rated their neighborhood as "generally good" or "excellent." The two people whose general opinion differed, also said that they were not very involved with other people in the neighborhood. Both of these families were low-income and rented their homes.

One of the most frequently mentioned features of the neighborhood was its close proximity to three major shopping centers, all of which have grocery stores, drug stores, and clothing stores. These areas are all within a five-minute drive of the neighborhood. Since all but one person owned a car, access to these areas was not a problem. The bus service was important to the one family without a car and to seven others who depended on it as an alternative. Everyone that used the bus service commented that it was very convenient and accessible.

Within the neighborhood, small businesses such as "corner" stores, laundromats, liquor stores, and a delicatessen were cited as not only making things easier for parents, but also for some, as providing a focal point of activity:

> We have a nice corner store which is nice, especially in the summer. I can take the children down to get ice cream or candy. You see a lot of your neighbors down there, and its not so fast-paced that you can't take the time to show your children how to count change or pick things out for themselves.

Two other resources were mentioned by the majority of respondents as being important to them. The recreational facilities of Burnet Park and the smaller Lewis Park were described as within walking distance by all except one person. Both parks were mentioned in the context of family outings or special trips, but day to day activities were described as being centered more around the house and yard. Perhaps, having these facilities available is the reason why not one single resident mentioned access to the country as being important to them or their family. There was one woman who wished that she could live in the country because that is where she was raised and she preferred the rural atmosphere. She had this to say about her present situation:

> My ideal place to live is in the country. If I can't be in the country, I'm content to be where I am. There isn't any other place I'd rather live within the city.

Several respondents mentioned the Boys Club and Girls Club located within the neighborhood as another important recreational feature in their area.

> These clubs provide a place for kids to go do something creative, usually something artistic, like painting...(they) give the kids a place to go and things to do, especially in the evenings. There's no need to roam the streets for lack of something to do.

Only two respondents voiced criticism of recreational facilities. One felt that there were no swimming facilities designed for use for younger children in the area. The other felt that it was difficult to use some facilities because "those things are for the rich - nothing we could afford."

Several people belonged to adult recreational groups, usually centering around activities such as bowling and bingo. This was often the only recreational activity that people did without their children. One woman who belonged to one of these groups with her husband commented, "I don't know where else we could go and have a variety of things to do."

Five of the respondents used formal child care services. Four of these used paid nursery school or pre-k facilities, the other used a social service "day care mother" to babysit for her children while she worked. The people who used the pre-K and nursery schools were generally quite satisfied with the quality of care given. The emphasis was on the experiential and traditional learning aspects of their children's development.

> I think (my son) gets quality care and attention. It has broadened his experience outside the home. He is being taught things that I don't have the experience with or probably the time for.

The woman who used the day care mother was appreciative of the fact that the care was reliable and noted that "I never had to miss work because she wasn't available." But, this mother had serious questions about the quality of care her children received:

> I'm not pleased with my day care mother because she just has that T.V. on all day and doesn't do anything else for my kids other than feed them and make sure they're safe. This really bothers me...I feel real bad. I know what children need to develop. I know they should be getting stimulation and my kids aren't.

There was only one woman who expressed a desire to use child care facilities and was not. Her complaint was over the cost involved, not their availability.

People in this neighborhood relied heavily on informal care arrangements, usually from relatives. Quite frequently, this was supplemented by exchanging responsibilities with a neighbor. In addition, a number of respondents paid various teenagers from the neighborhood which allowed them time to get out of the house and socialize with their friends.

Most respondents were very satisfied with the quality, availability, and reliability of the care these people provided. All but three respondents rated this domain as "generally good" or "very good." The three who rated their situation lower felt that it was "more good than bad" citing different reasons for why they felt the way that they did. One woman had recently moved into the neighborhood and didn't know anyone whom she could ask to help out. Another knew of and wanted to use teenagers in the neighborhood, but her husband would not allow it. The third person felt that one of her "greatest problems" was "not being able to get babysitters when we need or want them."

There were only a few problems cited concerning the use of relatives; in a few isolated instances, parents complained that grandparents spoiled the children, making it difficult for parents to readjust to the rules and regulations in their own homes. Two respondents felt reluctant to call upon relatives whenever they needed someone to sit, because they did not want to impose.

Neighbors often helped watch children for a specific period of time, but many more people felt that neighbors were available in a more general sense.

> It's a very good neighborhood. The people here are very considerate and concerned. They care about (my daughter) and watch out for her if she's playing outside.

People in this neighborhood felt confidence in the teenagers they paid to sit, often because parents knew the sitter's parents. They felt secure leaving their children because if a problem arose, the sitter's parents lived close enough to help out. No matter what source of care respondents used, all felt that they had friends, relatives, or neighbors that would help out if something unexpected came up.

The issue of safety, specifically of crime and vandalism, was not a problem for the clear majority of respondents. Frequently, this was said with a sense of relief. A few people said that they didn't bother to lock their doors and that they felt safe on the streets, even while out alone at night. Most people attributed this to the concern of their surrounding neighbors.

> (I) feel very secure about bringing a young child up here...(because of) the concern and interest of the neighbors who you can count on, and the fact that it is a very safe neighborhood...it's really still a community.

Another respondent also felt that it was the help of other neighbors that kept the area safe, but also related the feeling of safety to the length of residence of some of the families:

> As far back as I can remember, it's been a low crime rate area. Probably because the same people still live here.

The main concern for safety relates to a variety of busy streets that cut through the neighborhood. Parents' focus was on their small children's safety, and although many felt that more stop signs would help alleviate the problem, there was no indication that anyone was doing something about this. Although the majority of our sample lived on the busier streets, there were a few people who lived on less traveled side streets. These people, if they commented at all, felt that "it is a very safe neighborhood with very little traffic." The concern over busy traffic was eased by the fact that most people had access to play areas (i.e., porches, back yards) where they could restrict their young children.

General health care needs for the respondents interviewed were primarily met by the use of private doctors. Only two respondents relied on clinics for basic care for their families. Both forms of care used were well thought of in terms of quality and hours of availability. The main objection raised was that of cost.

While these general needs were met, two families who had needs for special counseling services or programs were severely disappointed. Both found the available services to be grossly inadequate. One woman who had a long history of fighting to obtain services that she needed had made some headway, but her battles had left her tired and discouraged.

> (I'm) sick and tired of begging for things. You feel like you're always downing yourself. You get sick and tired of showing people all your business. I'm sorry but, I've had it. I'm sick of fighting all the way down the line for help. I'm just not ready for another fight myself. It's been eight years of struggle and I'm tired. I'm tired of politics and I'm tired of proving that it has to be me that is the one that does something. I've fought for (my son) and I've fought for a lot of others...and I'm tired.

This woman also felt that there were not adequately available resources for people in the middle income bracket that the good opportunities went to people on social services. "I've tried to get involved with them, but what I've found out is that they don't give a good crap about people like me." The other person (who had special needs) gave up after several unsuccessful attempts and is now trying to deal with his problem on his own.

Two-thirds of the people interviewed attended church on a fairly regular basis. Their basic involvement was attendance, although a few people involved themselves in teaching Sunday school classes or had a more personal friendship with the pastor. For one person, having several churches within walking distance contributed to the general atmosphere of the neighborhood.

> If nothing more, it creates a nice atmosphere. It gets you out Sundays and into the neighborhood. The church becomes a strong center for community activities and is really a part of our community. For me, I like having a place I can get to easily if I just need to be by myself.

Another resource that was frequently mentioned were the various schools—both public and parochial—that children could or did attend. There was a mixed reaction about the proximity of these schools. Seventy-five percent of the respondents said that the school was close, and that their children would be able to walk the distance when it was time for them to attend. One of the parents who felt that the distance was too great said that she would have to drive her child every day. But the main concern for others was a busy street that children would have to cross on their way to one of the schools. Very few people commented on the quality of the school itself. Those that did, generally summed up in this way, "I am relieved that my child has a good school to go to in the neighborhood. It's important to me that he won't be bussed, and it will be easier to take part in school activities for me."

One of these schools offered a free lunch program that one of the two families on public assistance sed. She comments:

> (This) program has been very important and beneficial to our family. The kids would get a good, balanced lunch for free. They're going to close that school down soon though - maybe this summer. I don't know what we'll do then. It's a shame.

Other resources that were less frequently mentioned (less than two responses) were libraries, downtown, police patrol, restaurants, and laundry facilities. In each instance, there was a positive statement made that referred to availability. There was also one low-income family who had benefitted from an urban renewal project which had fixed up their home. The local Christmas Bureau also provided help for this same family.

"Last year the Christmas Bureau gave us a choice of food (a whole Christmas dinner) or toys. We took the food. That was the first Christmas any of the kids celebrated."

Besides the desire expressed by one parent for low-cost, pre-k facilities and the need expressed by two other people for specialized health care services, there was one other area in which a person felt she needed assistance, but did not know where to turn:

> I wish they had a job training program for housewives who have been home for a number of years and want to get a job...where women wouldn't feel uptight to go...you lose confidence in yourself when you're home with kids for years.

Unfortunately, what this woman perceived as a lack of service is really a lack of communication. Just this service does exist in the Syracuse area through the local BOCES chapter.

Most of the people interviewed viewed their neighborhood as having a good mixture of young and old people, families of long term residence and newcomers. "There's a little pride in the neighborhood, not like 'clean your yard,' but a sense of community." This "sense of community" was felt by many of the people interviewed, but was most often emphasized by those people in our sample who had grown up in the neighborhood. The following quotations serve as examples of this trend:

> I think that there's a sense of neighborhood around here...because many of the residents have been here for a long time. Quite a few of them are the same people I knew when I was a kid growing up in this house.

> I can sit out on the porch and many people will stop by to talk. Most of the people here I've known since I was a child, some were even my babysitters. We're like one big family here and that's a secure feeling. I can count on the people in this neighborhood. We look out for one another.

Even for those people who did not express a strong relationship to the community as a whole, there was a feeling that "if you need something - it could be anything from a car to a hammer, you name it - the neighbors are there." This general perception was that the neighbors were reliable people, willing to exchange favors, help out in an emergency, and keep an eye on each other's children.

While the importance of having reliable neighbors was often stressed, the majority of people did not express a need for involved friendship. A common view was expressed by one woman in the following comment:

> They're very neighborly, friendly. I'm not that involved with any of my neighbors, but they are certainly friendly enough in passing.

There were, however, a few exceptions on how this characteristic was perceived. Two people felt the atmosphere was superficial, and that people were closed and hard to get to know in any depth. One of these people felt that the "neighbors are nice enough but I don't feel close to any of them." The other, a single parent, had moved to the neighborhood recently and had not established any friendships at the time she was interviewed. She said she felt isolated and had some concern for her safety, but did not relate this to her being a single parent.

The only other single parent in our sample viewed the neighborhood specifically through the eyes of a single parent.

> I feel that although I am a single parent who never married, I am accepted here and I'm not an outsider in any way...when I go outside, I'll be asked how the boys are, how I am - it really is almost like the way you think neighborhoods used to be long ago. People here really do care...and it's real!

There was very little mentioned about other children in the neighborhood. Most people felt that their children had access to at least one or two playmates. Quality was mentioned as an issue for two parents who felt there were "a few tough kids with bad mouths" in the neighborhood. One of these people accepted this as a fact of life saying, "some of the kids are rowdy, but you have that everywhere."

The only other real complaints made were isolated. Despite the fact that most people defined their neighborhood as encompassing a large area and identified it by the name Tipperary Hill, some people's attitudes about the neighborhood were centered around more immediate surroundings. One woman, who had elderly couples living on both sides of her home, complained that there were no young people in the neighborhood, but this was not the view of the majority of people interviewed.

Two other people's general impression of the neighborhood was colored by their close proximity to two bars. They expressed concern over the influence bar clientele could have on children. While the majority of people described their neighborhood as a quiet and friendly place, these people felt it was noisy, they compalined about drunks on the street, and they felt that there was a relaxing of moral standards by the people around them. In addition, the two bars made parking difficult, and this factor was quite frustrating to those who were affected.

An important element of the neighborhood is the reasonable cost of housing. Owners and renters alike unilaterally agreed that Tipperary Hill offered good housing at a relatively low cost. Comments ranged from, "it's manageable," to "the financial part is the most important thing to me. It's probably our biggest plus. It's so inexpensive that we can live within our means." The main problem concerning cost was the difficulty some respondents had paying utility bills.

Most of the respondents were quite happy with their living arrangements. Most of the homes are in separate dwellings, some of which are divided up into apartments. They are older homes and most people have access to front porches and back yards. A typical comment was made by one woman when talking about her home:

> I like old houses because they are solid and well built with a lot of room.

The clear majority of people interviewed felt that they had enough space in their homes to be comfortable. There were a few complaints about lack of space, but this was usually because people were running out of bedrooms as their families grew.

The general upkeep of one's own house and that of the surrounding houses was generally regarded as being quite good. There were some isolated complaints of litter on the streets (by a woman who lived close to the two bars previously mentioned) and that renters in the neighborhood didn't keep their places as well as those who owned their homes. (This complaint was made by a woman who had problems with her next door neighbors who were renters.) But, generally speaking, most people felt that their neighbors' concern over their property was a positive attribute of the neighborhood.

Because of the described atmosphere, interpersonal privacy was not a problem. Those that did mention privacy usually linked it with the inavailability of outdoor space that they could claim as their own (i.e., back yard, porch to sit on). The majority of people did have access to one or both of these kinds of spaces. Along with increasing the sense of privacy, use of private space reduced anxiety over busy traffic and children's safety.

Most respondents felt that their neighborhood provided a supportive atmosphere for their parenting role. In addition, when people were asked where they received their greatest support, all but one person cited other family members. The one exception was a woman who felt that her greatest support came from "faith in my own self." Members of the immediate family were most often mentioned, but over half of the people extended this to include brothers, sisters, parents, and spouses' parents. One woman particularly stressed the importance of a strong family unit:

> We're going to lick it, no matter what hits us. We're going to get the work done or do whatever needs to be done to make it. We'll do it, it's as simple as that - especially if (my husband) and I stick together. That sort of support can't really come from the outside - it comes from inside and from within the immediate family.

When people were asked what their most serious problem was, several respondents felt that they did not have any. One-third of the families cited finances as their biggest problem. These families expressed difficulty in making ends meet and saving for the future. No one felt that their present economic situation was an overwhelming source of stress. The remaining problems had more to do with individual circumstances. For one of the single mothers, "the separation...the reality of the loss of a father for (my son) and a husband for me has an impact on every aspect of our lives." The other problems cited had to do with finding enough personal time for oneself and for one woman, "having a three-year-old causes me a lot of stress."

All but one woman felt a kind of support through the pride they had in their children. The one exception was sadly proud of "nothing-really nothing." But for most people, their children's accomplishments in school, and feeling that children were simply had "good children" made many people happy.

> (My kids) are so good and reliable. They're not mean kids and they try to do the right thing. Also, sometimes I look at my kids and I flip out at how beautiful they are. Sometimes, I get tears in my eyes.

Spouses were often included in respondents' source of pride. In many instances, the strength received from a strong family unit was expressed:

> The proudest point is (my son). We created a beautiful person here. I'm proud of (my husband) for making a nice life for me. Just having a good husband, I'm proud of that fact...that he cares about me. I'm just proud of us for being together. We can talk. We can laugh. We can cry together.

There was no overt statement pertaining to the peoples' commitment to stay in the neighborhood, but there are various reasons why one would expect them to. First there is a feeling of community: favors are exchanged, there is a shared feeling of common goals, and there is a common concern for others and for their children. Second, people are not threatened with personal danger, a factor which often drives people from neighborhoods. Finally, people have access to one of the nicest parks in the city, a park that houses the city's zoo, holds Little League games, and is large and spacious enough for family picnics and some sense of privacy.

If people talked of moving, they talked about the suburbs. Most people felt that there was no other place like Tipperary Hill inside the city and recognized that a move to the suburbs would put them at a disadvantage financially and that the convenience of the stores that many found important would no longer be there.

There was a substantial cross section of people who had grown up here. To them, it was home. Whether respondents were newcomers or in families that had lived in Tipperary Hill for generations, most expressed pride in their neighborhood.

SCHILLER-WADSWORTH:

NEIGHBORHOOD-PROFILE

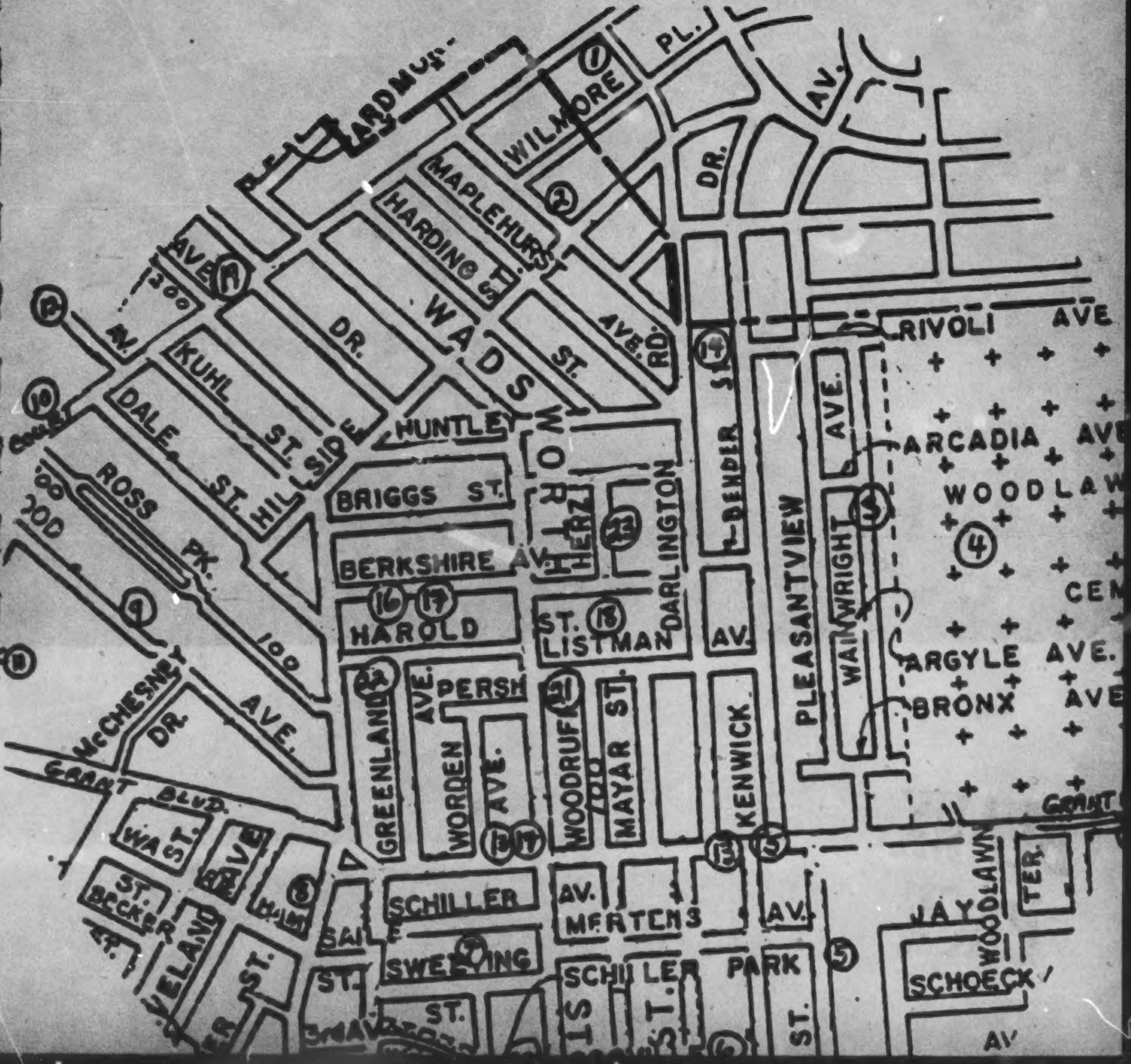
Ann Pitkin

Margeret Barker

KEY: Schiller-Wadsworth

1. Northern boundary - Town of Salina
2. Northern boundary - Darlington Road
3. Eastern boundary - Wainright Avenue
4. Oakwood Cemetary
5. Southern end of Eastern boundary - Dewitt Avenue
6. Southern boundary - Scoville Avenue
7. Southern boundary - Sweeting Street
8. Western boundary - Butternut Street
9. Western boundary - Hood Street
10. Western boundary - Court Street
11. Grant Junior High School
12. St. Mary's Hospital
13. Grant Blvd.
14. Kenwick Drive
15. Lutheran Church
16. Getsamane Methodist Church
17. Little Guys and Gals
18. Webster Elementary School
19. Big M Supermarket
20. Schiller Park
21. Woodruff Avenue
22. Greenland Avenue
23. Herz Street

SCHILLER - WADSWORTH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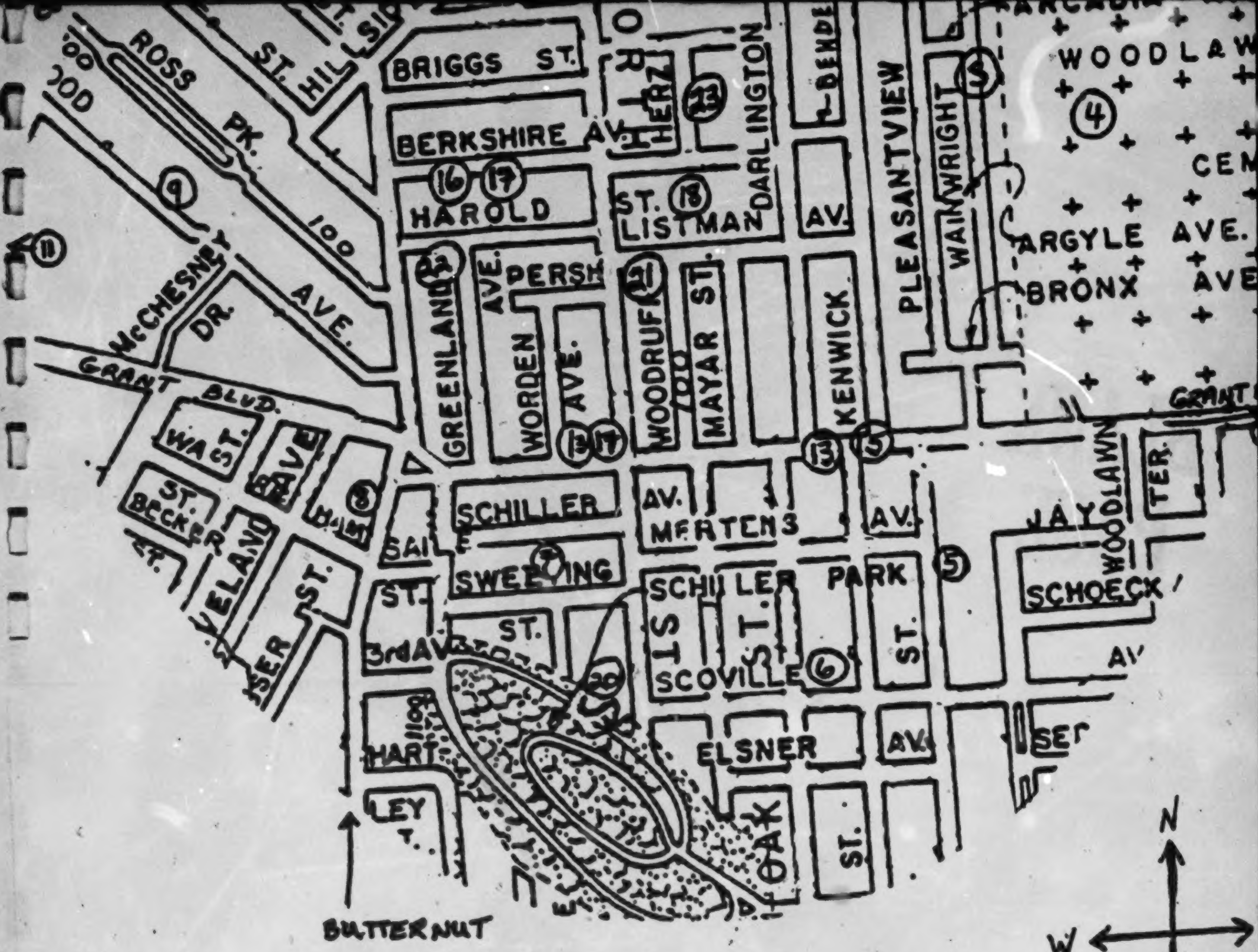
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Schiller-Wadsworth
Neighborhood Profile *

Direct Observations

Boundaries

The northern boundary of the Schiller-Wadsworth neighborhood is Darlington Road,(2) which forms the border between the City of Syracuse and the southern part of the Town of Salina.(1) Darlington is a quiet, tree-lined, residential street, typical of the neighborhood. The eastern boundary of Schiller-Wadsworth is made up of two quiet, well-kept residential streets, lined with tall maples, Wainwright Avenue(3) and Dewitt Avenue.(5) Both Wainwright and Dewitt Avenues are typical of many streets in the neighborhood in that they are just a few blocks long and do not lead directly into or out of any major thoroughfares. Just to the east of the neighborhood, but actually outside the boundary, is Oakwood Cemetary,(4) which serves as a sort of barrier and contributes to the general quiet atmosphere.

The southern boundary is formed by two short streets, Scoville Avenue(6) and Sweeting Street.(7) Both are particularly charming because the homes there are older, somewhat on the "quaint" side, and show special signs of care. Many are carefully landscaped and during the observation I noticed that several people had neatly covered up various lawn shrubs with burlap or other materials to protect them from the cold.

The western part of the neighborhood is bordered by Butternut,(8) Hood,(9) and Court Streets.(10) These three streets differ from all others previously described in that they are wider, busier, and are not entirely residential. They are, however, primarily residential, as the commercial enterprises there are small and not very numerous. The homes located on these streets are the largest and oldest in the area, particularly on Court Street,(10) where I saw the kind of homes found in the older and formerly very affluent neighborhoods of Syracuse. These homes are surrounded by large, well-landscaped lots, have leaded or stained glass windows, and sometimes multiple fireplaces.

Just outside the western boundary lie Grant Junior High School(11) and St. Mary's Hospital.(12)

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*Eulas Boyd, Liz Kelly, and Mary Maples all played an important part in the preparation of this profile.

It is correct to state that within the Schiller-Wadsworth neighborhood, as it was defined for the purposes of this study, a quiet, residential character predominates. The only exception is an area along Grant Boulevard,(13) the neighborhood's busiest street.

On the western boundary of the neighborhood one can gain access to other streets running off Grant Blvd.; travelling on these streets, downtown Syracuse is about a ten-minute trip by car.

Residential Areas

Although one and two-family homes predominate in the area, there are some exceptions beyond the Grant Blvd. commercial district. Three blocks from that district, on Grant, is a large apartment building known as "Twin Oaks." Because of its design and location, however, the building does not alter the general atmosphere of the area, which is that of a traditional older neighborhood. First of all, the building does not look like a typical apartment complex, though it does house twenty living units. Secondly, as it stands on Grant Blvd., rather than on a residential side street, the building does not stand out quite so much as it otherwise would.

Other non residential buildings are two churches, one in the western sector of the neighborhood and one in the southeastern corner, and an elementary school. One of the churches is Methodist, the other Lutheran. Both are well kept-up, fit in well with their surroundings, and look attractive. Centrally located within the neighborhood, at the corner of Listman and Wadsworth, is Webster Elementary School.(18)

There no factories or offices outside the commercial distict. Apart from the three buildings mentioned above [illegible] buildings are one and two-family homes.

Throughout the area I observed numerous American flags being displayed on porches or in front yards; the display seemed to be related to the recent return of the 52 American hostages from Iran. One sign read: "Welcome Home, 52."

In the northern section of Schiller-Wadsworth is an approximately even mix of one and two-story, single family homes. The vast majority are in excellent condition, with step, sidewalk and garage entryways all shovelled free of snow at the time I conducted the observation. Front and back yards are not very large and generally seem to be well used. Those families who have swing sets usually have them placed off in a corner of the yard, thus leaving room for gardens and small patios.

Many homes have entrances decorated with wrought iron railings; many front yards are conservatively landscaped with small evergreens or other assorted shrubbery. The streets are pleasantly winding with almost no traffic at all.

Leaving the northern section of the neighborhood and travelling east along Darlington Road(2) one observes a difference in the area, particularly along Kenwick Drive.(14) This area is definitely more affluent; most of the homes are modern. The majority are one-story and they are spaced fairly far apart. All have large lawns, two-car garages, and some had expensive-looking boats stored in the yard or driveway. The western and southern sections are not so affluent as the eastern part of Schiller- Wadsworth and look more like the northern section, except that here the houses are both one and two-family. Most of the two-family homes are in the western sector and some of these are in need of painting or other minor repairs. However, only one house was really in a state of disrepair and it is located between two others that are both very well kept up. Throughout the entire neighborhood, I saw one house with a sign that said, "For Sale by Owner," and two "Beware of Dog" signs.

Agencies and Services

The Lutheran Church(15) mentioned above is in the southeast corner of the neighborhood at the corner of Kenwick and Mertons Avenue. The building is impressive and solid looking with very few architectural frills. The grounds are on a hill which stands well above the level of the street and is beautifully landscaped with tall Norway Spruce and other evergreens. Along the walks leading up to the church steps are rose bushes which must make the grounds even more attractive in the summertime. The sign in front of the church simply stated the time of Sunday service, Sunday School, and the name of the pastor.

It is in the middle of this western section that the Methodist Church(16) is located. The building is very modern and the roof features several tall, sharp peaks. Over the entrance is a large, colorful stained glass window at least 12 feet tall which depicts Jesus praying the garden of Gethsemane. Next to the church is a small nursery school called "Little Guys and Gals,"17) which is affiliated with the church. The sign in front of the church also listed the time of Sunday service, Sunday school, and the pastor's name.

Webster Elementary School is small, one-story, red brick building which nicely fits the stereotype of the "traditional school," at least in its appearance. The school is surrounded by a large, open area that includes a baseball diamond and a playground.

Traffic

Traffic is all but absent from most streets in the neighborhood. By far the busiest street is Grant Blvd., which, as mentioned previously, is also the site of the neighborhood commercial area. Traffic is also active along Butternut Street, which leads into downtown Syracuse. On both Butternut and Grant one sees commercial vehicles and other traffic that has no connection with the neighborhood, but such traffic is confined to these streets.

Most of the neighborhood has a particular layout that discourages traffic from outside the area, although Schiller-Wadsworth is close to the downtown area: that is, most streets are only two or three blocks long and not organized in such a fashion as to encourage through traffic.

Commercial Districts

The one commercial area in Schiller-Wadsworth is on a four-block strip of Grant Blvd. between Woodruff Avenue and Butternut Street. The most striking feature of the businesses in this area is that they are all small. Although the district is rather small, the stores here serve many different needs which include the following: a bakery, a gas station, dry cleaning establishment, a beauty shop, barber shop, a tavern, a funeral parlor, pizza shop, a candy and coffee shop, a florist, a German restaurant, a seafood take-out place, and two butcher shops, one German and one Italian. The German butcher features "home made" German sausage and other German meats, while the Italian butcher advertises "home made" Italian sausage and other ethnic delicacies.

Grant Blvd. also connects the community with a large shopping center called Shop City, which is just a five minute drive away and is also accessible by bus. At Shop City residents can find many kinds of stores, some of which are not available in the Grant Blvd. district.

Additional small buinesses are found along the western boundaries. The most notable of these is a Big M Supermarket(19) at the corner of Court and Loma.

Recreational Facilities and Playgrounds

To the south of Schiller-Wadsworth, just one block outside the area as it is defined by the map, but inside as defined by parents, is Schiller Park.(20) It is a large park with a baseball diamond, a swimming pool (where lessons are to be had in the summertime), tennis courts, a playground and two open fields for various other activities. Schiller Park has a reputation of being one of the safer parks in Syracuse, and on the day of this observation, I saw several older people walking dogs and strolling about in a leisurely fashion. This park has several hills, but one in particular is quite high; from the top there is a beautiful view of the neighborhood below. On this hill I saw several deeply grooved sled tracks as well as some ski tracks.

As previously mentioned, another community play space is located by Webster Elementary School.(18) This area has a baseball diamond and a playground.

People

During my observation, it became clear that a lot of older people live in Schiller-Wadsworth. Five older women and one older man were observed outside their homes shovelling snow. Many people driving past were older - of retirement age or past. On Woodruff Avenue(21) (one block off Grant Blvd.) two older women in fur coats drove up and tooted for a third woman who also came out wearing a fur coat. As she got into the car, she cheerfully said to her companions: "I told Meriam we'd pick her up in ten minutes." Two other old people were observed walking in Schiller Park, as were a young mother and two small children.

By far the most activity in the area was observed in the commercial area; the majority of the shoppers were either women with young children or older people. Some stopped and chatted briefly together, while others passed by without conversing. (As an observer, I did not feel that my presence caused any interest in those around me. All people observed in the neighborhood were white.)

On Greenland Avenue(22) I saw a boy of around ten riding a bike. A large group of boys (pre-teens) were congregated on the porch steps of a house on Herz Street.(23)

Taking into account that the observation was conducted in the winter, which greatly affects the number of people seen outdoors, it appears that Schiller-Wadsworth is basically a quiet, residential neighborhood, one that is situated close to the city, yet remains far removed from it in terms of daily activity on the streets.

Demographic Profile of Project Families*

The 18 families in Schiller-Wadsworth sample are all white. Both members of eight of the couples in the sample are Italian. Italian is the first language in two homes; the interviews were conducted in that language. Two other families list Italian as a second language spoken at home. Other ethnic groups include: Polish, Irish, English and West European. Fourteen of the families are Catholic, one is Protestant and in one the mother is Protestant and father Catholic.

There are two single mothers; one lives with her parents and the other with a male partner.

The mothers in the sample are older than in some of the other program neighborhoods. The mean age is 32; five of the women are over 35. The fathers range from the late twenties through the forties. The families have an average of 2.87 children; nine have three or more children.

The majority of the families have lived in the neighborhood for ten or more years. Six families have moved once or twice in the past four years and one single parent has moved eight times. Twelve of the couples own their own homes and all but the two single parents own cars. These statistics suggest that the Schiller-Wadsworth couples are well-rooted in their neighborhood and that they are relatively homogeneous on most family background factors.

The information on socioeconomic status shows that the families for the most part are in the middle income range and blue collar occupational group. The only welfare or food stamp recipient is one of the single parents. The majority of parents have a high school education or better, although there are a few with less. The men work primarily in blue collar jobs; one is unemployed and his family's primary souce of income comes from unemployment. Seven of the men work more than forty hours a week, including three at second jobs. Four of the mothers work part-time and one full-time. The family income data show that two families, one single-parent and one with an unemployed father, earn less than $9,900 a year. Eleven of the families earn between $10,000 and $19,999, and three are above this level.

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*This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

The social network data show that Schiller-Wadsworth ranks seventh among the program neighborhoods in total neighborhood contacts. These parents rank third and second respectively in neighbors who are work-related contacts and relatives. The information on neighborhood contacts used for child-related, practical, and emotional support suggests that in comparison with other program neighborhoods, Schiller-Wadsworth families don't use one another for child-related assistance, but do exchange some practical and emotional support. They rank third in contacts with neighbors for financial support. These figures, especially in the areas of financial, practical, and emotional support may be a reflection of the fact that so many neighborhood contacts also appear to be relatives.

Respondent's Perceptions

The following are issues and excerpts taken from the Stresses and Supports Interview with a focus on neighborhood and housing.

Our sample in this neighborhood consists of 16 families, all of whom are white, 14 of whom are Catholic, and 14 of whom are two-parent. The great majority of these families are Italian; the balance are either Irish or Polish.

Twelve families own their own homes, four rent. One family is on public assistance, but this mother has a live-in partner partner in the home who contributes his income to support the family. The average educational level of the women was 11.2 years; 13 mothers have not graduated from high school. For men, the average educational level is 12.2 years; four have not graduated from high school, while three are college graduates.

Family incomes range from $5,564 for a single mother who lives with her parents, to $28,300 for an art teacher, the average family income being $15,613.

Residents of Schiller-Wadsworth area described most aspects of the neighborhood very favorably. Most characterized the neighborhood as being an "old established" one, while others likened life there to living in the suburbs. Respondents closely connected these descriptions of the neighborhood with its physical and social charateristics. Specifically, this neighborhood is almost exclusively residential with one and two-family, owner-occupied, homes situated on quiet, tree-lined streets. In addition, respondents voiced a sense of security, feeling that while there may be crime and violence in other parts of the city, there is none in Schiller-Wadsworth.

As stated above, many residents think of their neighborhood as a suburban town in which they are close to the city and yet are able to maintain a comfortable distance. Easy access to a wide variety of neighborhood shops contributes to a sense of self-sufficiency. All but one respondent stated that this local shopping area was an important and very convenient aspect of the neighborhood.

A large shopping center, Shop City, is within easy reach of the area, either by car or by bus. Most respondents stated they were glad to have both kinds of shopping available.

> We're very conveniently located to all types of shopping; the movie theatre (and) bars.

The fact that the area is only a ten-minute drive to downtown Syracuse was mentioned by many as an asset. People who worked in downtown Syracuse stated that the location made travel to and from work especially easy. Others found the closeness to downtown desirable because it meant easy access to entertainment and other events found only downtown. However, the overriding sentiments expressed by residents is that although they are conveniently located, they are not "too close" to downtown Syracuse. Two residents remarked:

> I don't like being right in the city but where we are are here, we're far enough from the hub-bub and yet close enough to make shopping and other things very convenient.
>
> It's nice. It's quiet. It's city but not city. It's like being in the suburbs but still having the advantages of a city.

In assessing their neighborhood, residents ranked their area as being "generally good" or as being in the highest category "very good." Only one respondent differed and rated her opinion of the neighborhood as being "barely on the good side." This was because she felt the stores in the neighborhood did not always meet her needs and so she never shopped in the local stores.

Half the people in the sample were involved in some sort of group, agency or organization. Membership reflected a wide variety of interests and included participation in such groups as the Adirondack Hiking Club, the Opera Guild, and a womens' community crafts guild. The mother who belonged to the crafts guild stated its importance to her this way:

> I think it's great. I've been looking for something where I could get involved with other women.

> I enjoy making things and it's nice to have something tangible to show for going there.

Some parents who were not involved in groups or organizations for their own benefit participated because of their children. For example, one parent mentioned his involvement with a children's community gymnastics club as being one of the best things he ever did for his child. Two other parents were involved with Cub Scouts and Little League.

Three respondents (all women) identified their church as being important to them and although one of these women does not really feel that she is comfortable with her church, she continues to go there to use it teach her children about God. Another church-goer stated that the support she received from church involvement is through a church-related social event called "The Bankers Club." This mother said that participating in this club is one of the few things she does for herself - "we all get together to do a little innocent gambling."

The vast majority of the respondents used private physicians and all seemed to be satisfied. Most respondents stated that they had medical insurance that provided good coverage. Two stated that they used the Family Practice Service at St. Joseph's Hospital. Although this hospital is located outside the neighborhood, that did not seem to pose a problem. (Both families own an automobile.) These respondents rated the service at the hospital very highly, stating that "It's not like a clinic at all."

The largest and most heavily used recreational facility in the neighborhood is Schiller Park, which is technically just outside the neighborhood boundaries as defined for purposes of this study. It is a city park and contains a swimming pool, tennis courts, playground and several large, open spaces. In the summer, Schiller Park offers swimming lessons for children. One mother whose child had participated mentioned the lessons as being important; the child will be returning to the program. The park is also used for Little League practice which was mentioned by one parent who takes his son there for that purpose. Apart from these structured activities, many parents used the park as a place to go on walks with their children; the majority felt that having the park close by was a real asset to their neighborhood. No mention was made of fear or violence in the park, but one respondent did complain of broken glass. Most respondents generally shared this opinion:

> I like the fact that we are near a park and they've fixed up the swings in it. It's a real nice place to go with the kids and easy to get to.

In addition to this large city park there is another much used recreational facility about one square block in size that surrounds Webster Elementary School. This is a large open area but most respondents refer to it as a park, perhaps because it does have a large playground, a baseball diamond, and other open play space that is large enough to sustain several other group sports at one time:

> There's a park down at the school that we can walk to and that we take (our daughter) to.

Schiller Park and the playground at Webster School are ideally situated in the neighborhood as they are not close together; Schiller is at the southern end while Webster School is in the middle. No respondents complained of not having enough recreational or play space for their families.

Another characteristic of the neighborhood that is related to the issue of play facilities is home ownership: 75% of the sample are home owners. Back yards, front porches and basements all increase the available play space and many parents mentioned this space in an especially favorable light:

> I think (my child) likes it here. He has a fenced in yard he can play in. He has a front porch (enclosed) that he plays on with his toys. It's a good safe play space for him.

Formal child care arrangements were used by only three families; these arrangements were all part-time. It is relevant here to point out that only one mother in the sample was employed full-time outside the home; three were employed part-time. However, none of these working mothers used formal child care arrangements. These people relied on relatives or neighbors and were well satisfied. Of the three families who do use formal arrangements (Head Start Program for one family, and nursery school for two others), all expressed satisfaction. The stated reasons were that the children were getting educational experiences and that mothers were getting some time to themselves. One of these mothers stated dissatisfaction that a day care center was not located in the area. (This parent was apparently unaware that the "Little Guys and Gals Nursery School" operates day care facilities from 7:30 am to 5:30 pm. But perhaps the issue involved is that the parent is a Catholic and the nursery school is operated by the Methodist Church.)

Informal babysitting arrangements were the rule and parents were all highly satisfied. Most of this babysitting is done by older people or teenagers, although a few mothers worked out exchange arrangements with each other. Some parents also turned to relatives. Almost all respondents felt that there was a responsible, loving person to whom they could turn for help.

One of the most persistent themes mentioned by respondents was a feeling of security within the neighborhood. One gains the impression of an "old fashioned family neighborhood" in which residents are not fearful of the crime and danger which exists outside the immediate area. Most respondents, in fact, stated that they felt Schiller-Wadsworth was one of the best neighborhoods in Syracuse in which to raise a family. As one respondent stated:

> Nothing bad ever happens here. If a cop car stops, everyone is looking and wondering, 'what is that cop car doing here?' Believe me this is probably one of the safest neighborhoods in Syracuse.

An important point to mention here is that residents feel that they are living in an area with others who are very much like themselves, especially in terms of sharing the same values. Respondents' evaluations of neighbors went beyond descriptions such as "nice" or "friendly" and included judgments of neighbors' behavior concerning critical issues, such as one's children. Consider, for example, the following remark:

> Overall the people are really nice. This is an older neighborhood and many of our neighbors keep an eye on our kids whenever they see them outside playing...People are very friendly and very helpful."

The number of older people living in the neighborhood was perceived as an advantage by many respondents. Some stated that they like the quiet and stable atmosphere imparted to the area by the presence of older people. One father said he was glad there weren't too many young families around him because then there would be too many temptations for his child to go wandering.

More than half the respondents were satisfied with the number of peers available for children. One parent thought,

> It's great. (My daughter) has lots of other little kids to play with. She is never lonely for a playmate.

However, not all parents concurred. One parent complained:

> The only thing thats wrong with it (this neighborhood) is that there aren't enough kids...

However, several of the respondents who did see a need for younger families and more children made the observation the the situation was changing because a lot of younger people seemed to be moving in. This shift seems to represent the only change currently underway in the neighborhood, and it is a change that will probably enhance the quality of family life there.

The vast majority of the parents stated that relatives were the most important people outside the immediate family. Parents and in-laws were described as helping with money, child care and emotional support. In response to a question about the family's greatest source of support, relatives were also mentioned, but a number of families cited their own inner strengths and ability to work together as a family. The answers of several parents are illustrative:

> I think the fact that we help each other and both take on the responsibility of a family.
>
> I think it's the way we stick together and help each other out. We're our own best helpers. We know we can count on each other.
>
> For myself, I think my greatest source of help is the wisdom I've gained from my own life experiences.

There was some tension between independence and receiving help from others as indicated by one women who said:

> I guess in the beginning (getting help from my in-laws and sister-in-law) caused a little problem because I felt we should be independent and shouldn't have to count on anybody for help but that's just totally unrealistic.

Some of the families were also not uncritical of their relatives' help; this help sometimes brought problems with it.

When asked about their greatest problem, the majority of those who responded mentioned money:

> Being able to supply my family's everyday needs, like food, clothing, keeping the house up and being able to pay all the bills....

Several answered that they missed their relatives in Italy.

WESTCOTT-THORNDEN:
NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

Artis Lee
Ann Pitkin

KEY: Westcott-Thornden

1. East Genesee Street
2. Columbus Park
3. Small commercial district (outside neighborhood)
4. Cherry Hill Apartments
5. S. Beech Street
6. Thornden Park
7. Greenwood Place
8. Clarendon Street
9. Sumner Avenue
10. Westcott Street
11. Dangerous intersection
12. Madison Street
13. Euclid Avenue
14. Meadowbrook Drive
15. East Avenue
16. Westcott commercial district
17. Sumner School
18. Levy Junior High School
19. Westmoreland Avenue
20. High income area
21. Euclid Community Open House (E.C.O.H.)
22. Irwin Methodist Church
23. Friends Service House
24. Womens Information Center
25. Fire station
26. Jewish Community Center

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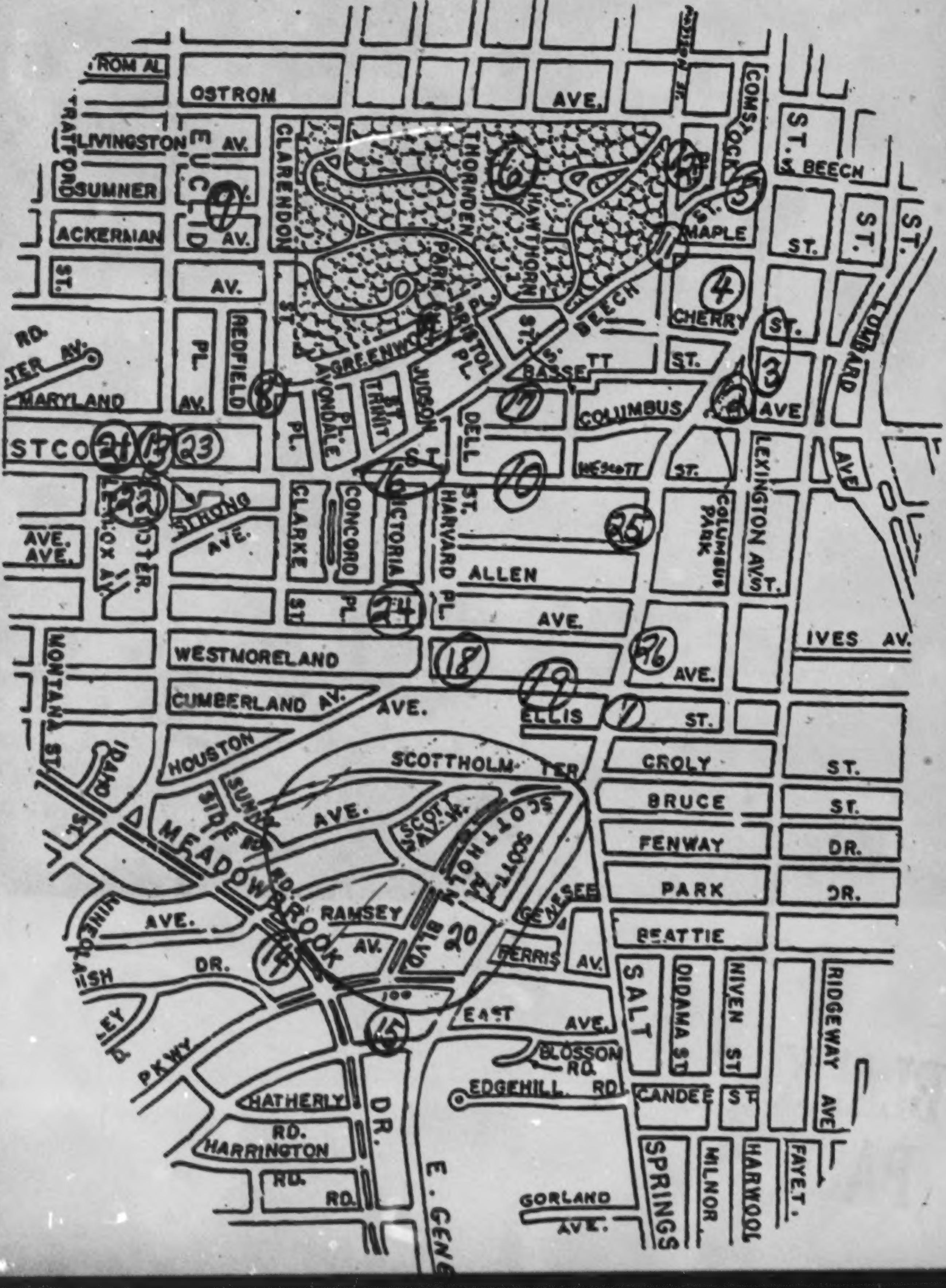
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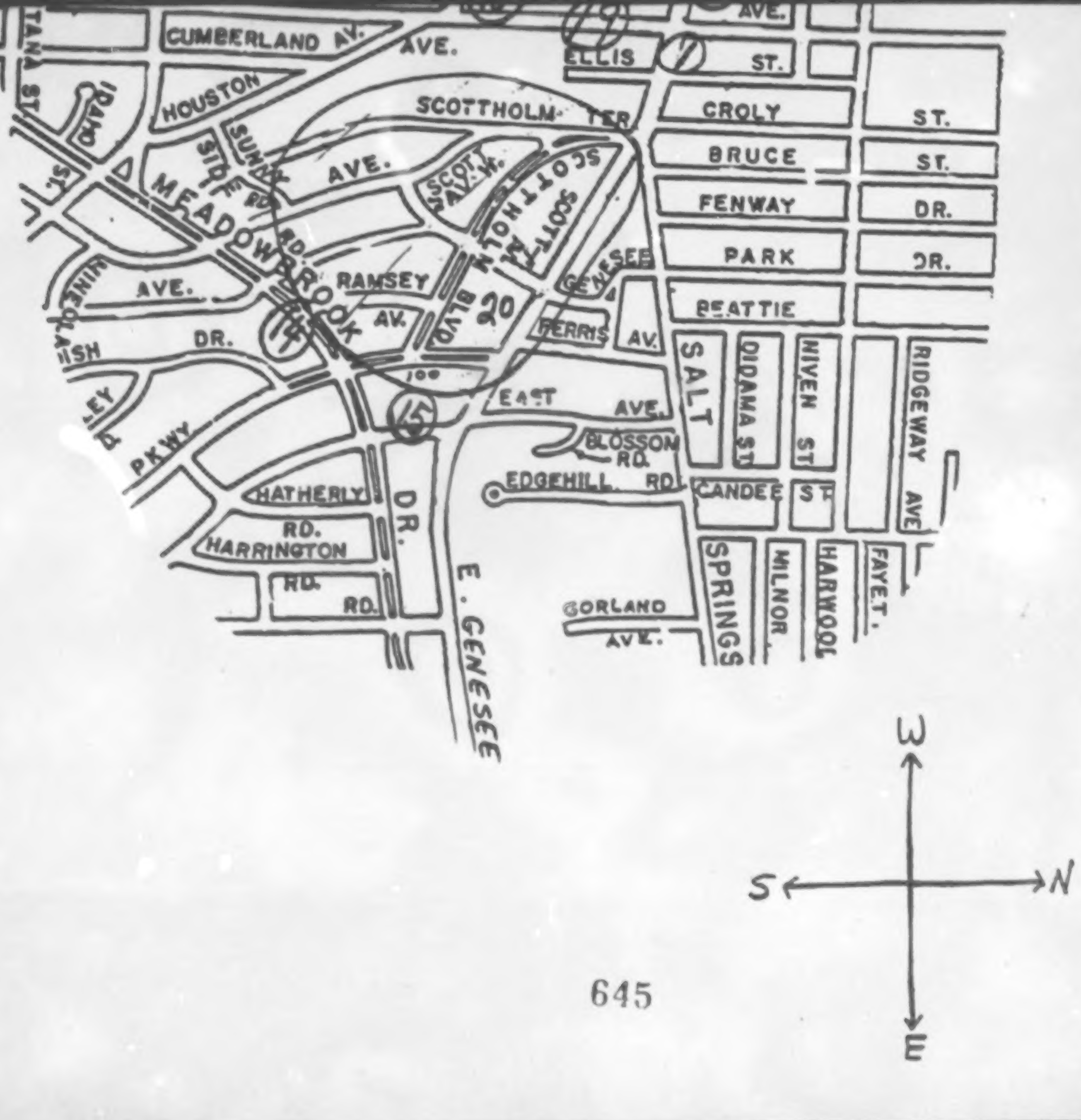
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EAST
AVE.
15
SALT
OUDAMA ST.
NIVEN ST.
RIDGEWAY AVE.
BLOSSOM RD.
LEY
PKWY
HATHERLY
EDGEHILL RD.
CANDEE ST.
RD.
HARRINGTON
DR.
RD.
RD.
E. GENESEE
GORLAND AVE.
SPRINGS
MILNOR
HARWOOD
FAYET.T.
W
S
N
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Westcott-Thornden
Neighborhood Profile *

Direct Observations

Boundaries

The northernmost boundary of this neighborhood is East Genesee Street.(1) This is a main traffic artery that extends through the entire city of Syracuse and passes through the heart of the downtown area. However, private residences occupy most of this street, and east of Westcott Street are a number of physician's offices and synogogues. Several blocks south, between Cherry Street and Columbus Avenue, a small park(2) in the form of a triangular island separates Genesee Street from a small business area(3) containing a bank, a small grocery store, a bar, a take-out restaurant, a dry cleaner, and a carpet retailer. This area falls just north of the W-T neighborhood but is used by people who live on the boundary of the area, primarily those residing in the housing complex directly across from the park (Cherry Hill(4)).

Although Genesee Street has a considerable number of traffic lights, there appear to be occasional traffic problems due to the angle at which some side streets enter. At such intersections there is poor visibility of oncoming traffic. During my observation of the area there appeared to be very little pedestrian traffic, perhaps due to the inclement weather. Although there was considerable snow on the ground due to a recent storm, Genesee Street was perfectly clear and traffic was moving smoothly. However, most of the minor side streets were unplowed and cars were having difficulty making grades.

The western boundary of the neighborhood is formed by South Beech Street,(5) Greenwood Place(7) and Clarendon Street,(8) along the edge of Thornden Park.(6) Beech Street is a fairly large thoroughfare that cuts through the city from north to south, extending from the middle of the north side of Syracuse to the center of Westcott Street.(10) Beech winds uphill from Genesee Street past Thornden Park and diagonally to Westcott Street where it forms the southmost boundary of the small Westcott commercial district. The traffic along this street varies throughout the day and with the time of year. During the summer months it is a much used access to the park and affords a quick route to

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*The authors wish to thank Eulas Boyd, Liz Kelly, and Mary Maples for their invaluable assistance.

the major east-west thoroughfares of Genesee Street, Erie Blvd., and route 690. However, due to its meandering nature and the steepness of its approach to Genesee Street, Beech Street becomes quite treacherous route in the winter. Adding to the hazard, where Beech Street approaches the park, it is joined by several other streets that empty into the same intersection.(11) A further complication is the existence of a high wall along the incline just before Beech Street reaches this intersection. This wall severely limits visibility of traffic on Madison Street(12) which crosses Beech at this point. Private residences line both sides of Beech Street and are in various states of disrepair.

Greenwood Place(7) runs along the periphery of Thornden Park and is lined on both sides with private houses. Greenwood runs into Clarendon Street(8) which then runs westward for about 2½ blocks to Sumner Avenue.(9) Sumner Avenue then runs south for one block to Euclid Avenue,(13) which forms the southernmost boundary of the W-T area.

Euclid Avenue is a large artery that extends from the Syracuse University campus eastward to Meadowbrook Drive.(14) Euclid Avenue is sometimes a two-lane, sometimes a four-lane thoroughfare. From the S.U. campus to Westcott Street Euclid is mostly four-lanes. At Westcott it rises uphill and becomes a two-lane street. Euclid is mostly a residential street, having private homes, rented apartments, and a number of Syracuse University sorority houses and dormitories.

The easternmost boundary of the area is East Avenue(15) which runs from Meadowbrook Drive to Salt Springs Road. East Avenue is also a residential street and completes the outer boundaries of the W-T area.

Westcott Street(10) runs north to south through the area and is considered the "main street" in the area. Westcott is primarily a street of private residences but there is a one-block stretch between Dell Street and S. Beech Street which comprises a significant commercial district. Traffic on Westcott Street tends to flow smoothly with a slight delay at the beginning of the commercial district(16) due to the presence of two traffic lights in the space of about 50 feet. These traffic lights regulate two streets emptying into Westcott street from opposite directions in this 50 foot space.

Residential Areas

The housing development on Genesee Street is known as Cherry Hill.(4) It consists of a number of one-story apartment complexes located behind a two story gray cement complex which faces Genesee Street. Next to this complex is a "high-rise" building that apparently houses mostly senior citizens. It is divided by a large outside multi-tiered stairway. This building, too, is gray and somewhat foreboding; the color and texture of the material used imparts an oppressive character to the whole complex. This housing development seems to constitute a separate element in the W-T area -- a mass of brick and concrete in a wood-frame neighborhood. Because of the weather there was practically no one on the streets and the complex had a somewhat abandoned look.

The interior of the complex is composed of several rows of low buildings separated by asphalt courts. Behind each row of apartments is a small grassy area which was covered with snow at the time of my visit baut appears both unusable and unused. The rear entrance to the complex is a wide driveway leading fairly steeply down to the various courtyards and parking areas. I observed several cars attemping to leave the complex, unable to make the steep grade. One man who noticed me watching just shook his head and said, "Every winter it's like this, you just have to try to find a parking space on one of the streets."

Cherry Hill has other apartments which line one side of Basset Street, another steep hill which only an occasional driver would dare to challenge -- and then only in the downhill direction.

The complex is supposedly occupied by "moderate-income" people, but a number of tenants are on public assistance. There is also a residency program operated by Hutchings Psychiatric Center operating out of the development. This program, referred to as Transitional Living Services (T.L.S.), places individuals who recently have been discharged from various mental health institutions and agencies into apartments within the complex with the goal of reintroducing them into the community at large. T.L.S. maintains a staff to assist the residents during this "transitional" period.

The rest of the W-T neighborhood is less well-defined. The streets that are closely parallel to or intersect with Westcott Street make up what is generally referred to as the "Westcott Area," and the people who live here are called the "Westcott Nation." This area extends from Thornden Park to Westmoreland Avenue and has as its axis Westcott Street and as its focal point (both physically and socially) the commerical district(16) between Dell Street and S. Beech Street.

The houses in the Westcott area are divided fairly equally between privately owned family dwellings and rented apartments. Most of the houses are wood-frame and in good to excellent condition.

On Westcott Street there are quite a few pedestrians of varying races and ethnic backgrounds. People appear friendly and quite a few seem to know each other. Many people seem to gather in the two bars on Westcott Street and at a small cafe further down near Beech Street. This cafe is popular with the "political activist" community which has a large presence in the W-T neighborhood.

Most houses in this area have fairly substantial yards and most boast a one-car garage. Some houses, especially those near the northern entrance to Thornden Park, are a bit run down (mostly in need of paint jobs). However, the vast majority of houses seem to be in good shape and a number are in excellent condition. In particular it is the privately owned single family dwellings that are in the best repair. A number of two- and three-story houses around the Westcott commercial district display bright red "Apartment for Rent" signs. I encountered several "For Sale" signs along Westcott Street and on side streets emanating from it.

On Bassett Street at the corner of South Beech Street is the old Sumner School(17) which has now been converted into a day care complex housing a number of child care programs, including a "Head Start" program. There was no activity visible at the school at the time I made my observation. A tall wire fence encloses the schoolyard on the Beech Street side. This enclosed area contains a playground equipped with climbing structures, a sandbox, and other apparatus for young children. At the other end of the building is another fenced-in area which doubles as a small parking lot for employees and as a basketball court. Across from the school are a number of frame houses, some in good repair, others somewhat run-down. The further I walked down Bassett Street toward Genesee, the more run-down the houses became. The people I encountered here were mostly Black.

Three blocks east and directly parallel to Westcott Street is Fellows Street. Between Fellows Street and Westmoreland Avenue at the corner of Harvard Place is Levy Junior High School,(18) a rectangular, three-story brick structure adjacent to a large fenced-in area which serves as a recreation field. At the time of my observation there was no activity apparent either in the building or on the adjoining field. (This school has been the focal point of a good deal of tension in the neighborhood due to the hostilility of some of the Black teenagers toward whites whom they perceive as college students living in the area. The source of this hostility is not known to this observer.)

Along Westmoreland Avenue(19) and Fellows Street are old wood frame dwellings that appear to be in good condition. A mixture of Black and white families live along these streets. On Westmoreland Avenue I encountered a group of kids of varying ages and racial backgrounds playing touch football in the street. (From previous walks on this street I know this to be a cohesive group that does a lot of things together.)

Further east of Westmoreland Avenue is a tangle of streets(20) where the houses tend to be more expensive and larger. The yards are larger and the garages are bigger. (This area is populated by much wealthier families and is distinct from the "Westcott Nation".) A number of homes in this area have elaborate outdorr play equipment. Children were out playing with brightly colored sleds, making snow sculptures, and dressed in snow suits of myriad colors. They were friendly and smiled at me. It appeared that they viewed me with a little curiosity, perhaps because I am Black and they white. I did not encounter a single Black person in this area (although I know there are a few Black families residing here). I also did not see many adults around, perhaps due to the weather. There was very little traffic in this area and children swarmed all over the streets throwing snowballs and laughing.

This area is separated from the rest of Westcott-Thornden by a large hill that stretches behind Westmoreland Avenue. This hill is wooded, overgrown, and fairly untraversable.

Commercial Areas and Businesses

Almost all commercial establishments(16) in the W-T area are on Westcott Street along the block between Dell Street and S. Beech Streets. On this block are: a large supermarket, a drug store, a combination gas station and garage, three bars (one of which is also a restaurant which serves meals all day), a hardware store, a variety store, two "take out" food establishments (one specializing in "soul food", the other in Chinese food), two laundromats, a funeral parlor, a photography studio, a small cafe, a beauty parlor, a liquor store, a children's clothing store, a yarn and knitting shop, a movie theatre (recently converted from x-rated to "mainstream" motion pictures) and a deli. Located on side streets immediately off this strip are a tailor's shop, a body and fender shop, an auto insurance office, a small grocery store, a health-food store, a boutique (commonly referred to as a "head shop"), a shoe repair shop, a barber shop, and a branch of the public library.

Futher down Westcott Street on the corner of Euclid Avenue is a small "necessity store" and a converted fire station which now houses The Euclid Community Open House (E.C.O.H.(21)). E.C.O.H. utilizes the building for concerts, rummage sales, craft fairs, dances and other community affairs. In the summer there is a day-camp program for area children. Across from E.C.O.H. is a large Protestant church(22) which also houses a daycare center. Next to the "necessity store" is the Friend's Service House,(23) a building owned by The Society of Friends which is used for various community meetings.

On Allen Street, one block east of the Westcott business district is the Women's Information Center,(24) where a Rape Crisis Center counsels women who have been victims of sexual assault. The Women's Information Center also holds various seminars and workshops related to issues of the women's movement. The Center maintains a cooperative daycare service which is staffed by parents who volunteer their time in exchange for use of the service. In a garage attached to the center is a collection center for recycling bottles and paper.

On the corner of Genesee Street and Cambridge Avenue is a modern fire-station(25) containing at least three fire engines. At times traffic on Genesee Street is interrupted when the engines have to back up into the station following a call.

Just east of the fire station on the other side of the street is the Jewish Community Center.(26) This is a recreational and social agency which also operates a daycare center. The building is a large brick one with a parking area in back. The center houses tennis and racquetball courts, a swimming pool, a sauna, an exercise room and various other facilities.

Scattered throughout the entire W-T area are a number of "halfway houses" and "transitional living" facilities for people who have recently been discharged from various state institutions in an attempt to reintroduce them into the community. These houses are generally indistinguishable from any other house in the community.

Recreational Centers and Playgrounds

The major recreational center in the W-T area is Thornden Park.(6) This is an area of several acres of rolling hills and lightly wooded areas. Its facilities include a large swimming pool with a bath house, tennis and basketball courts, a large playground for younger children, two baseball diamonds, a recreation building (that is seldom if ever used), an amphitheatre that on occasion has been used for concerts during the summer months, two tree-lined lanes, and several picnic areas. The park is kept up fairly well, although I noticed that the playground had been vandalized; a small carousel had been damaged and was just barely usable and the soft plastic seats of the children's swings had all been damaged. The park has a history of having been the scene of a number of rapes and of at least one murder. These all occurred in the summer but are not part of recent history. As a result of these attacks in years past, there are a number of signs stating that it is illegal to use the park after certain hours.

Other recreational facilities in the area include the Jewish Community Center(26) (previously described) and the park(2) across from the Cherry Hill complex. This small park contains a playground with a few swings, a climbing structure, and a sandbox. The rest of the block-long park consists of a large grassy area with benches scattered about under several trees. This park is strewn with shattered glass and seldom used by residents even during the warmer months. It is most used at night during the summer by teenagers and young adults who drink and socialize loudly. There have been numerous attempts by residents of the area to have the park cleaned up and patrolled to keep the teenagers from drinking and smoking grass there. These attempts have not been successful and consequently the park is effectively unused by families in the area.

People

Due to the inclement weather at the time of observation, very few people were encountered. People tended to congregate in the restaurants and bars on Westcott Street and were of various ages and social and ethnic backgrounds. Few children were encountered outside of the residential area east of Westmoreland Avenue. Very few Black children were seen in any of the areas at the time of my observation, although there is a substantial Black population in the area as a whole.

Demographic Profile of Project Families *

Westcott-Thornden is one of the most heterogeneous program neighborhoods. The information on ethnic affiliation shows there are ten groups represented: English, Irish, Greek, W. European, Scandinavian, Haitian, Mid-eastern, Italian, American white and Afro-American. One of the families speaks Greek at home. The families' religious affiliations tell a similar story. Six religions including Muslim, Jewish, and Eastern Orthodox are represented. As will be evident when we look at other background factors below, Westcott-Thornden contains a wide range in almost all areas.

The neighborhood contains fifteen program families: eight two-parent white couples, four single white mothers, two racially mixed couples, and one single mother living with her parents. One of the white single mothers lives with a male partner; the rest live alone. The majority of the families have two children; only four have three or more. The educational information shows that mothers range from 10 to 21 years of education; seven have training beyond a bachelor's degree. The wide range is also evident in the figures for the nine fathers' education; two have eight years of education, one has a college degree and six have past college training. The educational figures indicate some of the parents in Westcott-Thornden are among the most highly educated in the entire sample of families. The bulk of the mothers are in their early to mid-thirties, but there is one twenty-one year old, Black single parent who lives with her parents. The fathers are in their thirties and early forties.

The information on residential mobility shows a difference in the patterns of single and two-parent families. The former have lived in Westcott-Thornden an average of three years while the latter have an average tenure of six years. The mobility of the single mothers is further pointed up by the fact that they have averaged 2.8 moves in the past four years while the figure is .033 for the nine married couples. Twelve families own their homes and three, including two single mothers, rent apartments. Three families, all headed by single parents, receive welfare assistance.

* This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

The data on family income shows a huge dispersion. Five families (including two with unemployed fathers and three single parents) have less than $9,999 yearly, while six families have incomes over $30,000. Four of the fathers have professional jobs, three have white collar ones and two are blue collar workers. All of the professionals and one white collar employee work 50 or more hours a week. Seven of the mothers are employed full-time in white collar and professional jobs. One single mother has two part-time blue collar jobs along with welfare assistance. Three of the single parents report receipt of some alimony.

According to the social network data, neighbors are comparatively important to Westcott-Thornden families. They rank first of the ten program neighborhoods on six of the eight neighborhood variables. Specifically, they show the most neighborhood contacts, most neighbors who are also relatives, and most neighbors as part of the primary network. The comparative examination of the neighborhoods on contacts used for child-related, practical and financial support similarly indicates Westcott-Thornden families rank first. Overall, these patterns show that this is one of the most "neighborly" of the program neighborhoods. This perhaps accords with its local Syracuse title - "The Westcott Nation"-as reported by one of the project's neighborhood observers.

Respondents' Perceptions

Almost all commercial enterprises in the WestcottThornden area are located in a one-block strip on Westcott Street, which is near the western-most boundary of the neighborhood. This district has a large drugstore, a large supermarket, a combination filling station and garage, a variety store, three bars, two laudromats, a hardware store, a children's clothing store, several restaurants, and a number of other small businesses.

Most respondents described this district as being very important to them and felt that if they needed to purchase something quickly, it would be possible to find almost anything right in their own neighborhood. However, there were three respondents who did feel that these facilities were just a bit too far away. These families lived on the eastern boundary of the neighborhood. An observation typical of these families is that of the respondent who stated:

> We don't have stores or a library within walking
> distance and I wish we did! Nothing is very far
> away, but nothing is within walking distance.

There are two major public recreational facilities in the Westcott-Thornden area. They are Thorden Park and Barry Park.

Thorden Park is located on the western border of the neighborhood. This park consists of several acres of grassy and wooded land. There are several tennis and basketball courts, a swimming pool, a large playground, an amphitheatre where concerts are occasionally held, two baseball diamonds, a rose garden, a couple of tree-lined lanes, and a large picnic area.

Most respondents felt that this recreational facility was quite convenient and more than adequate. Several mentioned this park as being a significant factor contributing to their enjoyment of the area. One respondent remarked that "I think Syracuse provides very well for it's citizens (in terms of recreation): the parks system is good and there are plenty of recreational facilities."

But, once again, as in the case of commercial facilities, there were some respondents who lived on the eastern boundary who felt that the park was a bit too far away. One such parent stated:

> It would be nice if (the park) were even closer because (my son) can't go alone yet, but he does enjoy it. It would be nice to have a lot of small parks in the residential areas.

Another recreational facility mentioned by a number of respondents was the "Jewish Community Center (J.C.C.)." This is a family oriented agency which has many recreational facilities as well as social and religious activities. J.C.C. membership is open to all members of the community regardless of religious affiliation. All respondents who mentioned this agency felt that it was an important component of the neighborhood and that it made a positive contribution to family life.

One parent remarked:

> The Jewish Community Center helps - it gives us a family recreation center. It forces us to play with (our) kids... (This is) time together which I might not take if it were left up to me.

Child care

Child care, whether provided by formal day care agencies, or by informal arrangements with babysitters and relatives, was generally thought to be quite good by the overwhelming majority of respondents in the W-T area. Many mentioned as a major reason for continuing to reside in this neighborhood the availability and geographic convenience of child care facilities.

> It's very helpful to have quality daycare so accessible.
>
> (My child's) nursery school is nearby. That's something every neighborhood should have.
>
> There are a lot of (daycare) programs for (my child) that are concentrated in this area.

In lieu of these formal arrangements, or as a supplement to them, many "private babysitters" were used. In most cases these sitters were non-relative teenagers who living in the neighborhood. In two instances babysitting services were supplied on a private basis by teachers who cared for children in formal settings and who had become friends of the family in the course of involvement in child care programs. Relatives also were utilized for child care assistance, though only in a very few instances and usually as a last resort. The respondents' perceptions of the quality of care provided were generally quite good. One respondent rated child care as being "just barely on the good side," but this respondent also stated in the interview that "I really see this (child care) as my responsibility and I don't like the idea of leaving (my children) with someone else."

Of the fifteen respondents, twelve rated their child care arrangements as excellent, two as generally good, and one as just barely on the good side.

Neighborhood Safety

The issue of safety was one of concern to one out of every three families. Those respondents who had concerns about the safety of the neighborhood spoke mostly about physical well-being on the streets at night. One woman expressed concern about being raped because of recent sexual assaults in the immediate vicinity of her home. Three respondents were less concerned about sexual assault than they were about harm coming to their children at the hand of persons under the influence of alcohol. This concern apparently was due to the respondents' perceptions that there were too many bars in the area. "There's a bit (of an) alcoholic community here and it is a constant worry for me that they might stop and batter (my daughter). She's very friendly and wouldn't refuse to stop and talk." "I don't like the hangout syndrome on Westcott Street - all the bars and people hanging around at night."

The majority of people, however, seemed to feel that the neighborhood was a safe one and one that they felt comfortable allowing their children to have the run of. Among the people who generally felt the neighborhood to be safe as far as their physical well being was concerned, there were a few who acknowledged that there was a significant problem with property theft in the area. These people attributed this problem to teenagers from outside the area and seemed to minimize it as a problem generated within the neighborhood itself.

> Some people bring problems to the neighborhood, (like) kids who rip off (people).

Only one respondent mentioned drugs as a problem and then only as a potential one as far as her children were concerned:

> I feel (that) if (my) children were older I would have to worry about drugs because drugs are out there (in the neighborhood).

Safety concerns related to traffic patterns appeared to be minimal in the W-T neighborhood. The only respondents who expressed concern were two who live on the main thoroughfare of E. Genesee Street.

> The heavy traffic (on Genesee Street) forces us to keep (our child) confined to her backyard.
>
> (It's) kind of dangerous with the road right out front. Cars aren't always looking (out) for the kids, so (it) can be usafe when (the kids) are outside.

Health Care and Other Services

Most families in the W-T area attended private physicians and generally felt that there was good and reliable medical care available within easy access. This feeling probably stems from the fact that the W-T area is surrounded by medical complexes and physicians' office buildings. There are also a considerable number of doctors' offices along Genesee Street on the northern boundary of the area.

However, there were two respondents who felt that a neighborhood health clinic was needed. These respondents apparently felt that the cost of private medical care was too high for their families to afford. One of these families was a single-parent Black family with two children and a total annual income of less than $9,000. The other was a white, two-parent family with two children and a total income of $15,500.

This latter respondent stated:

> I would like a neighborhood health clinic up here and if we couldn't have one we should have direct

> bus service to one...We tried to get a clinic at one of our neighborhood centers but we failed.

Other services and agencies mentioned as important to the neighborhood were E.C.O.H. (Euclid Community Open House), Jewish Community Center, the Women's Information Center, Syracuse University, and the Syracuse Urban Renewal Agency.

The E.C.O.H. is a converted fire station that has been turned over to the Westcott community for various community activities. There are summer recreation programs for children, rummage sales, dances and concerts, carnivals, and craft fairs.

Most respondents use the J.C.C. for recreation activities and for its daycare program.

The Womens Info Center is a community center run by women and oriented towards the women's movement. It offers workshops and study groups for women interested in the women's movement and a Rape Crisis Center offering counselling to women who have been sexually assaulted. The center also sponsors various cultural events for women throughout the year.

According to respondents, Syracuse University offers many cultural and educational benefits to the community. There are art museums, concerts, religious activities and inexpensive movies shown regularly. Many respondents have taken courses from the univeristy and some have even graduated from it. These respondents state that it is the proximity of the university that keeps them in the area.

Only one respondent mentioned the Urban Renewal Agency as being important to the family. This respondent was the beneficiary of Neighborhood Improvement Funds and had this to say about her experience with the agency:

> I'm happy about the help they gave us for the house at Urban Renewal. They really helped us out. They (put on) the roof and the aluminum siding. They paid for all the electrical work which we could never have done by outselves - this makes the neighborhood look better.

Housing

Most respondents were quite happy with their housing arrangements. The majority of families interviewed owned homes and felt that they had adequate space both inside and outside. Most felt that their homes were pleasant and offered a good environment for their children with ample room for play. Most houses have basements which were used for play areas for children; respondents stated that this was a very important contribution to lessened stress within the family.

> My (child) has enough space to play, he can go down to the (basement) and play - that way it's a little easier for me. I can get them out of my hair for awhile.
>
> (we have a) large basement which provides us (with) a laundry room, storage room and a large area the kids can play in and mess up...it's large (and) we can get away from each other - the kids from us and (we) from them.

The only respondent who felt that she did not have enough space lived in a low-to-moderate-income housing development on the northern boundary of the area. This respondent felt that she neded more storage space, a bigger kitchen and a basement where her children could play when the weather prevented them from going outside. This same respondent also felt that the people who managed her complex were very difficult to deal with and were a continuing source of stress to her family. She felt that the complex was poorly designed and inefficiently run.

> The electricity here goes off at least six times (during) the winter (and) everthing is controlled by electricity here. The guy who built these (apartments) was from Florida so (he) didn't build for cold weather. Some people's pipes freeze (during the winter).

High rent was mentioned as a problem by only two respondents. One of these respondents stated "...the rent is too high in this neighborhood. We pay more for this (kind of) apartment than we would someplace else (in the city)." (It is a generally held opinion by residents in the area that rents are too high. Most people attribute the high rents to large numbers of university students living in the area. With the increased cost of living on campus, many students have elected to live in off campus housing with the result that landlords can rent an apartment or house to a group of students at a cost much higher than any family could afford to pay. Consequently, a family with one income cannot compete with the students for housing in the area.)

Transportation

Transportation did not pose a problem for any of the respondents interviewed. Most had their own cars and those who didn't stated that bus lines were very convenient and that there was relatively easy access to needed services. Some respondents felt that schools for their older children were too far away but most were satisfied with the location and quality of the schools in the area.

Neighbors and Playmates

The issue of whether or not there were enough children of the same age as respondents' children was voiced by all respondents. Eight parents felt that there were not enough playmates of the same age and seven felt that there was an abudance of peers for their children. There was no evidence that this perception was due to the location of the family within the greater W-T area. Respondents living on the same street or just around the corner from each other gave differing assessments of the availability of playmates for their children. In general, however, respondents tended to view their neighborhood on quite a limited scale when making this assessment, usually viewing the neighborhood as a single block and oftentimes as just one side of the street. It appears that in this instance parents established boundaries based upon where they would allow their child to travel unescorted.

Respondents overwhelmingly felt that the biggest factor keeping them in the neighborhood was the feeling of community with neighbors. Perhaps it is significant that it was in this area that most information was volunteered by respondents. People seemed quite anxious to loud the friendliness, cooperativeness, and sensitivity of their neighborhors, as the following remarks from three different respondents illustrate:

> I really like (people around here). They're very friendly. There are people of all ages and backgrounds. they don't put on phoney airs...
>
> I like them. They are not pushy and they are not overly friendly...There are opportunities for some good friendships here...

> People have similar values about childrearing and we can send the kids out to play knowing they will be allowed to do relatively similar things with relatively similar kinds of supervision.

Finally, and perhaps most succinctly:

> People are friendly and extend themselves. We have neighbors we can call on for things and vice versa...The people who live here care about this area. They make a point of getting to know each other. I like the feeling of community and neighborliness.

There was only one respondent who had anything negative to say about people in the area. The respondent was a white divorced female with one child who lived on the northeastern boundary of the W-T area. She was the only respondent who sent her child to child care facilities that were a considerable distance from the neighborhood. The respondent also lived near the boundary between a predominantly Black low-income area just outside the W-T neighborhood and one of the wealthiest areas of the city which happens to lie in the W-T area. Her characterization of the neighborhood is quite different from that of other respondents:

> It's a cold and divided neighborhood. Blacks live on one side and whites on the other side. There is very little friendliness.

Overall Perceptions of the Neighborhood

One of the most frequently mentioned traits of the neighborhood in general has been it's overall economic heterogeneity, although this seems to be more of a perceived reality than an actual one. Many respondents mentioned living in a "mixed" neighborhood as a significant positive factor in their attitude toward the neighborhood and a factor which influences their commitment to remain. All of these respondents lived in the area located right around the central Westcott commercial district.

Another common observation was that the area was one which had people of differing age groups. Respondents who made these observations all felt that this was a positive aspect of the community. The words of this parent were typical:

> I like the fact that it's inter-generational. It's healthy to have a community made up of all ages. (It's) good for (my) girls to learn to respect the elderly.

Most of these people felt that having their children exposed to people of various social and ethnic backgrounds would benefit them in their adult lives. There seemed to be a sense of pride in their perception that this neighborhood housed not only the most diverse group in the city, but also the best educated.

One parent stated:

> I really like the University mix - young and old, and different racial backgrounds. I enjoy different kids of people and I think it is important for (my child) to be exposed to a lot of different people and situations.

And another:

> ...It's important to me that we are in a neighborhood that has a wide mixture of people. There are various ethnic groups and social classes in our neighborhood - this will be good for my children.

The sentiments of these two respondents were echoed in numerous interviews and seem to be representative of residents of the area in general. There was not a single respondent who stated that living an integrated neighborhood was a negative experience.

SALT SPRINGS:

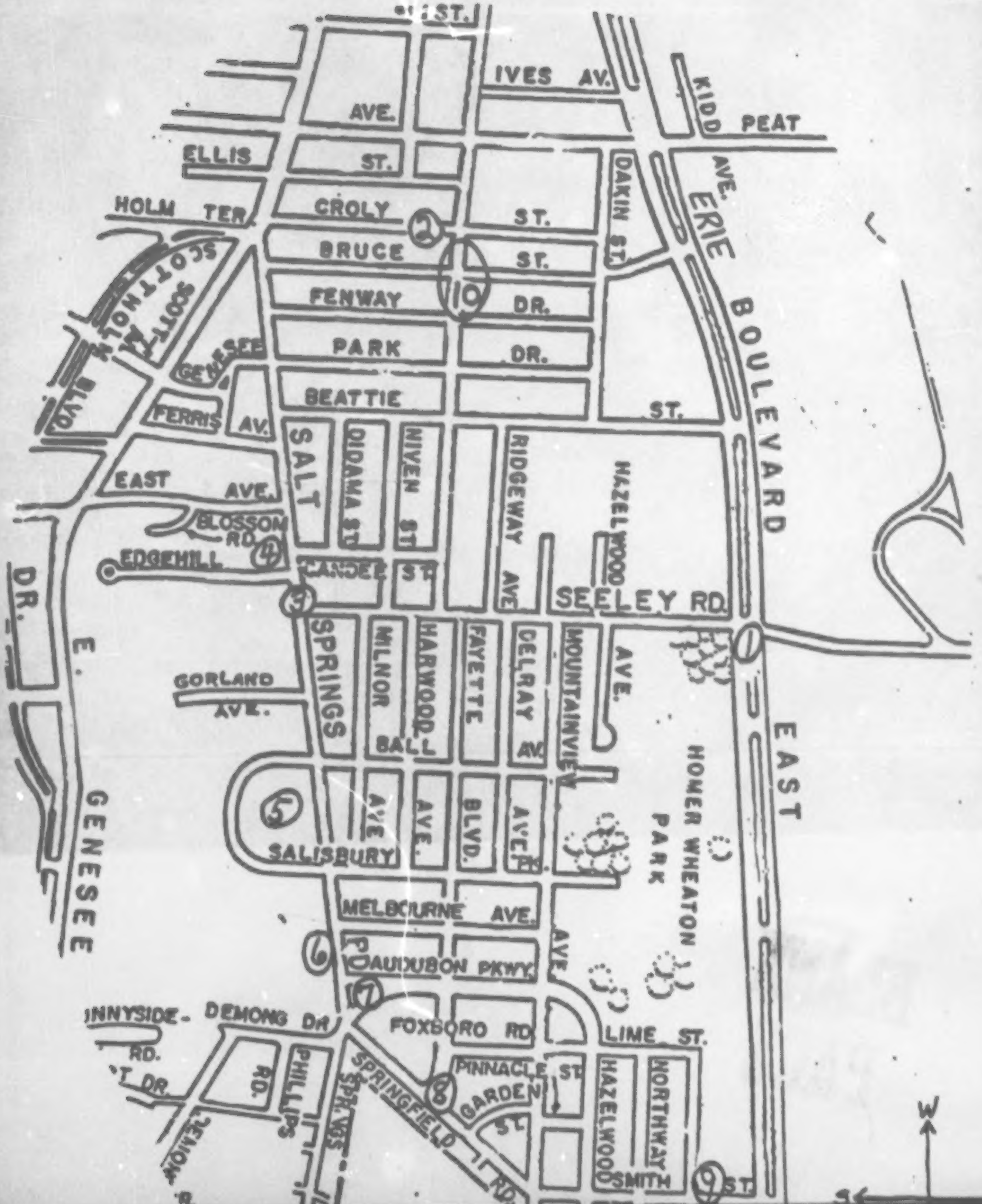
NEIGHBORHOOD PROFILE

Artis Lee
Ann Pitkin

KEY: Salt Springs

1. Erie Blvd. East
2. Croly Street
3. Salt Springs Road
4. Church
5. Elmcrest Children's Center
6. H.W. Smith School
7. Small cluster of shops
8. Springfield Road
9. Smith Street
10. Strip of houses in disrepair
11. Springfield Gardens Apts.

SALT SPRINGS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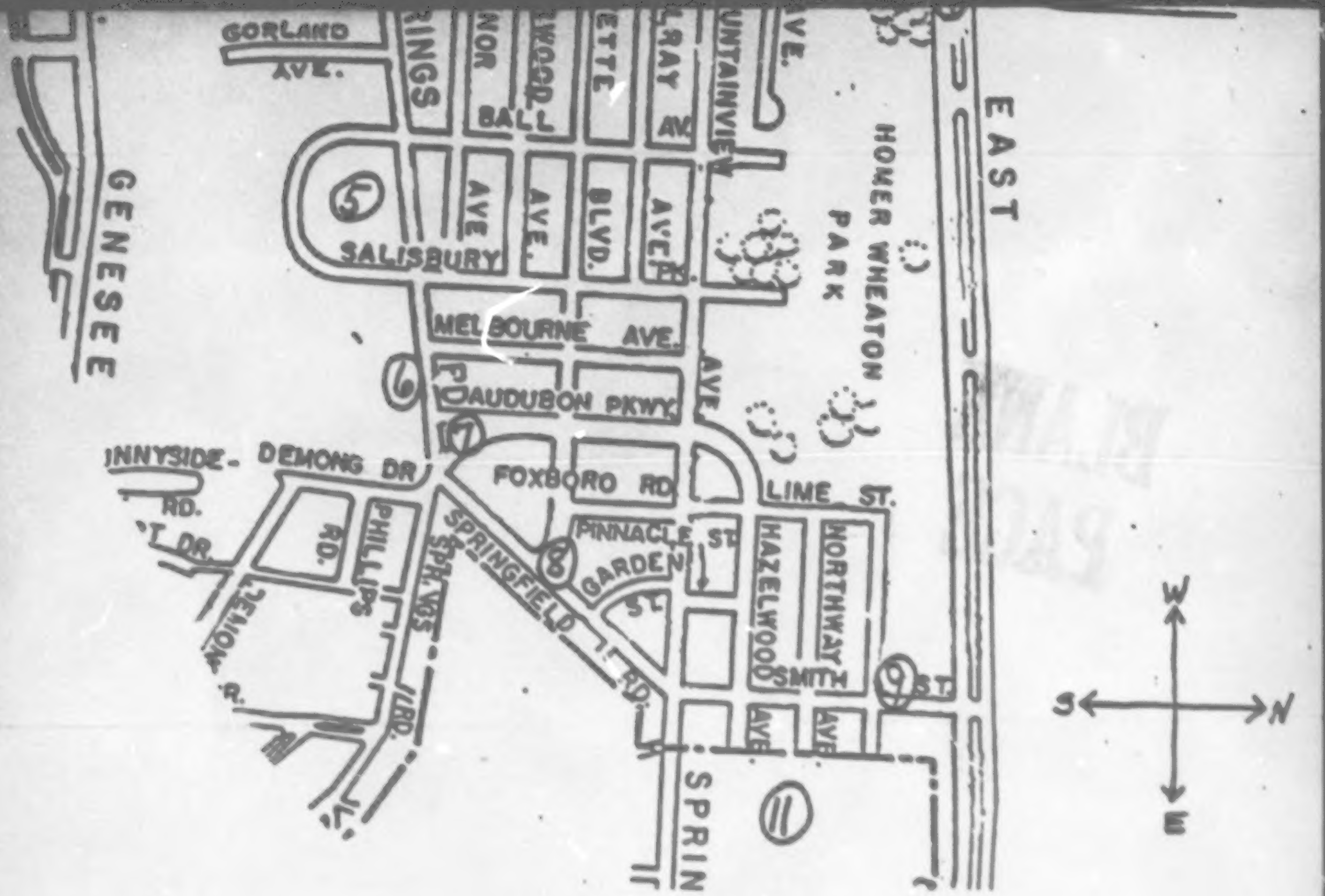
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Salt Springs
Neighborhood Profile *

Direct Observations

Boundaries

The northern most boundary of this neighborhood is Erie Blvd. East.(1) Along this major, multi-laned thoroughfare are numerous commercial enterprises. There are a great many restaurants, gas stations, electronics and stereo retailers, automobile dealers and parts stores, along with a score of other business. Due to the heavy use of this thoroughfare, the businesses located along both sides are mostly inaccessible to pedestrians.

Located on the steep hillside along the southern side of this artery are a number of apartment complexes primarily occupied by middle-income professional people.

The western boundary of Salt Springs is Croly Street.(2) Located along this street are a number of apartment buildings in which most of the residents of the street live. The buildings appear to be in fairly good condition. There are also a number of single and two-family dwellings on Croly Street. Near the corner of Croly Street and E. Fayette Street are several small businesses (a bar, a grocery store, a beauty parlor, and a fast food restaurant). The houses nearest E. Genesee Street (mostly one- and two-family dwellings) appear to be in better shape than houses further north, especially around the E. Fayette-Croly intersection.

East Genesee Street is the southern boundary for two blocks, then the street veers off to the south, at which point Salt Springs Road(3) becomes the southern boundary. Along E. Genesee Street and Salt Springs Road are mostly private residences with a number of physician's offices interspersed. Also along this street are a large church,(4) Elmcrest Children's Center,(5) and Hurlburt W. Smith Elementary School.(6) At the point where Salt Springs Road ends as a boundary of this neighborhood is a small cluster of commerical ventures(7) (a necessity store, a beauty parlor, and a "takeout" sandwich shop).

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* The authors wish to thank Eulas Boyd, Liz Keily, and Mary Maples for their assistance.

The eastern boundary of the neighborhood consists of two rather long blocks of Springfield Road(8) which then turns into Smith Street(9) for another four blocks and terminates at Erie Blvd. East. The buildings along Springfield Road and Smith Street are entirely residential; some are private one-family dwellings and a number are apartment complexes.

Residential Areas

The interior of this area is composed almost entirely of residential structures, many of which are apartment complexes. Most of these complexes are located on or near the northern boundary of the neighborhood, and the majority of the privately owned single-family houses are located in the area off of Salt Springs Road and extend northward to Mountainview Avenue.

Along East Fayette Street between Croly Street and Fenway Drive is a strip of buildings that are in various states of disrepair. It appears that mainly Black people live here. Croly Avenue appears to be populated primarily by Blacks. However, during the observation, the closer I got to E. Genesee Street, the more white residents I encountered.

A large apartment complex, Springfield Gardens, is located on Springfield Road. Springfield Gardens(11) was originally built for middle-income tenants, but now the complex is federally subsidized and consequently there is a large population of low-income residents. This complex appears quite attractive from the outside and is said to be attractive inside also. The residents seem to be predominantly white but there is also a significant population of Blacks. The various units of the complex are separated by well kept grassy courts.

The rest of the apartment complexes in the neighborhood are inhabited by middle and upper income tenants. These complexes are too numerous to describe in detail, but most tend to be wood and brick townhouse type structures and their population tends to be predominantly white with a noticable Black presence.

Commercial Areas and Businesses

Aside from the vast strip of businesses and commercial enterprises along Erie Blvd. East, which, because of difficulty of access due to heavy traffic flow, are effectively outside the Salt Springs neighborhood, the only commercial district to be found in the neighborhood is a sad and decaying area in the immediate vicinity of the Croley-E. Fayette intersection. This district actually lies within two neighborhoods: Salt Springs and Lexington-East Fayette. Consequently, the description of this district appears in the profiles of both neighborhoods.

This area is the vestige of what was once a thriving commercial district that boasted two large supermarkets, several dry cleaners, a number of delicatessens, and other small businesses. Now, although a few enterprises still struggle to survive, none of the original establishments remain and the district looks abandoned. There are huge gaping empty lots where once large supermarkets stood. Many vacant stores line Fayette Street, most are boarded up. The only surviving businesses are a bakery, a fried chicken fast food establishment, a bar, a liquor store, a beauty parlor, and a small grocery store whose prices are described as "outrageous." Up until mid-January, 1981 there was another small grocery store located on Fayette Street, but it has since gone out of business.

Most of the businesses are either owned or run by Blacks with the exception of the bakery and the surviving grocery store. The bakery is owned by a Jewish family but employs both Blacks and whites who are not family members. The grocery store apparently is owned and operated by a some middle eastern men whose reputations are regarded as "suspect" by a number of residents in the area.

Salt Springs used to be a Jewish area, but Jews are no longer the dominant group. Most of the people I encountered on the street were Blacks; the majority appeared sullen and resigned.

Recreational centers and playgrounds

During my canvass of the neighborhood I encountered only one recreational facility -- Mountainview Park. This park is located at the eastern end of Mountainview Avenue.

It is a large grassy area with the usual playground accoutrements plus basketball courts and tennis courts. It is well maintained and heavily used. Traffic in this area is well under control and relatively light. Mountainview Park is used by an even mixture of Blacks and whites, seemingly with minimal frictions.

People

Most of the people I encountered in Salts Springs appeared to be of middle class background (both Blacks and whites) except in the low-income area around Fayette Street previously described. Because of winter weather, few people were in recreational areas or walking about on the street. Blacks tended to predominate in the western sector of the neighborhood, whites in the eastern sector. It appears, at least in terms of numbers, that Salt Springs is a fairly integrated neighborhood. Most of the individuals I saw were young adults and teenagers.

Demographic Profile of Project Families*

The Salt Springs survey characterized the neighborhood as a predominantly Black, middle-income city neighborhood. The demographic information collected on the eighteen families in the sample supports this description in terms of average annual income, which is almost $16,000. However, only half of the project families are Black, while the other half are white. According to the field staff, a number of families sampled mentioned that they enjoyed the heterogeneity of this neighborhood. Field staff members themselves described Salt Springs as a "nice" middle-income neighborhood, fairly hetergeneous, with many homeowners and "lots of professionals." With the exception of two or three poorer single women the parents are quite well-educated and earn moderate to good yearly incomes. The parents in the sample represent no particular dominant ethnicity; most identify themselves either as Afro-American or as American-white, with the exception of two Black Africans, two West Europeans, two Irish and one of English heritage. Most are Protestant (N=18); the others are Fundamentalist Christian (N=3), Catholic (N=2), Jewish (N=2) and one is a Jehovah's Witness.

The Salt Springs sample includes eleven married couples, four single mothers living alone, and three living with partners. Everyone has from one to three children, with the exception of one couple who has five. The parents are mostly in their late twenties and early thirties; the men average two years older than the women. The majority of the parents have a high school education, with one-third of them having a college degree or more.

The information on individual mobility shows that the project families in Salt Springs are residentially stable. The average length of time in the neighborhood is about four and one half years and only five families have lived there two years or less. However, the three single women living with partners have lived in Salt Springs for eighteen months or less. Only half of the families have moved within the past four years. The sample is about evenly divided between homeowners and renters. All but five families own their own cars.

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*This section written by Heather Weiss and Nancy Burston.

The families in the Salt Springs sample have quite a wide range of average yearly incomes. The two extremes are represented by one single woman living with a partner who only received $3,648 per year in food stamps and welfare benefits and by a married couple whose combined income is over $35,000. The married couples have twice the average annual income of the single women in this sample. In addition, the only two women receiving welfare benefits are single women living with partners. Twelve of the women are employed; nine of them work at least forty hours a week. Only one man is unemployed; one works part-time and the rest full-time, with three men working 45 or more hours per week. The men and women work at a variety of job levels. Eight are blue collar workers, nine are white collar, and eight have professional jobs.

According to the social network data, families in Salt Springs turn to their neighbors for support relatively often in comparison with the other nine program neighborhoods. In fact, the Salt Springs parents reported the second highest average number of total neighborhood contacts, and the second highest number of neighbors in their primary networks. In addition, Salt Springs ranked second in terms of the average number of contacts with neighbors for child-related, practical, and work-related support. Parents in Salt Springs, however, do not turn to their neighbors often for financial or emotional support. This finding might be attributed to the fact that Salt Springs ranks last in terms of the average number of neighbors who are also relatives.

Respondents' Perceptions

The following are issues and exerpts taken from the Stress and Support interviews with an emphasis on neighborhood and housing issues.

Commercial Areas

There are not very many commercial enterprises in Salt Springs, just a few "convenience" stores scattered here and there in little pockets along with an occasional liquor store, beauty parlor, and fast food establishment.

Most respondents felt that grocery stores were inconveniently located outside of their neighborhoods and that the one or two that were located in the neighborhood were either too far away (not within walking distance) or much too expensive.

One respondent observed:

> Shopping is a real hassle, mostly because there aren't any stores close to here that I can walk to, except a convenience store - but they charge so much you wouldn't really want to go there...The other store is so far away you have to pay a taxi just to get there and back. On a limited budget, it's hard.

Although there were five respondents who felt that they had easy access to shopping facilities, all these respondents had cars.

The northernmost boundary of the Salt Springs Area is Erie Blvd. - a large thoroughfare which has numerous businesses lining both sides. However, no respondent seemed to consider this as part of the neighborhood, since the street is at the bottom of a very steep hill and is such a heavily-travelled artery. The businesses along this thoroughfare are generally considered inaccessible except by car.

Recreational Areas

There is one park and one information recreational area used by children in Salt Springs. This park, Mountainview Park, has the usual playground equipment -- swings, slides, climbing structures, etc. There are also basketball courts and a couple of tennis courts.

The informal play area is the LeMoyne College Athletic Field, which is part of the campus of a private Catholic College located in the neighborhood. This is a large open field where neighborhood children play soccer, baseball, and football when the area is not in use by the college. Apparently the college administration does not make an issue of this practice.

Most respondents felt that the park and play area were convenient, well taken care of, and offered a place for children to play without parents having to be concerned about safety. Three respondents, however, felt that there is a need in the neighborhood for supervised recreational facilities for teenagers. One parent stated that she felt that the reason there are no such facilities is because "the city (government) doesn't care."

Child Care

Child care was generally thought by all respondents to be quite good - whether provided by formal day care agencies or by informal babysitting arrangements. The only complaints voiced by respondents were either financial in nature or had to do with availability of sitters on short notice. It should be pointed out that these concerns were both voiced by the same respondent who stated:

> I don't really feel that my day care needs are being fulfilled adequately. That's probably due to our income but I don't think that income should mean that much. All kids have the same needs whether they're rich or poor, Black or white. I have to send my kids to a private day care center because of my income and we really can't afford it. There is really nothing in the "system" for the midddle (income) person. If you want your child to go to day care you've just got to "get off the cash" which is very depressing when you have small kids and you have to work.

And as regards getting a sitter on short notice:

> I don't have any family here so I really don't have anyone like a mother or sister or anybody that

> I can leave my child with if I need a quick babysitter or someone to help me out. My husband's family is pretty much wrapped up in their own lives.

The preceding respondent's observation is quite significant in that it strikes to the very heart of what makes most of the other respondents so pleased with their child care arrangements; the great majority of these parents rely heavily upon relatives for child care. The feelings of some of these parents are recorded below.

> They're family and the best babysitters you can have are your own flesh and blood. I love it...I prefer having them (babysit).
>
> (My child) likes all of the (babysitting) arrangements, especially with her grandmother (who lives upstairs)-that's a special treat for her...and of course my (two) aunts are like grandmothers to her. They love her and she enjoys being with them.
>
> (My) mother-in-law lives upstairs. She's there for companionship, babysitting, teaching, helping out (and) emergencies.
>
> I like (having) my cousin watch my children because I don't have to worry about (whether or not) they have been fed or about their safety because I know that (they) are well taken care of.

Neighbors, too, were held in great regard by a number of parents as caregivers for their children.

> I really like all of (the babysitters I use). Everyone is reliable and likes (my child) which is important to me. I never have to worry or hesitate for a moment - all of them are responsible and loving people.
>
> (My child's) babysitter likes kids. She babysits for 10 or more kids. It's like a little day care center. She's got books, Blackboards, and children's material for them. It's a nice learning environment. She's got kids of different races there too. So it's a good place for my child to go.

Most respondents relied upon a mixture of relatives and neighbors to supply their total child care needs as well as day care situations during working hours.

Most parents had some sort of day care service provided by either a private or government sponsored agency. Every one of these parents expressed good feelings about these arrangements. The two respondents quoted below are fairly typical:

> I love the day care center. (My child) likes it there and it's a good influence on her. You have to (cajole) her to leave sometimes.
>
> It's good at Headstart. She's so grown up there. Now (my daughter) comes home and sets the table and she gets her own food. It's beautiful for her. She's learning about sharing toys; she paints, and she counts (well).

Of the 17 respondents in the sample, 12 rated their childcare arrangements as "excellent," 4 as "generally good" and 1 as being "just barely on the good side."

Safety

The issue of safety was of concern to 12 out of the 17 respondents in the neighborhood. Of those respondents who felt that the neighborhood was not particularly safe (there were 4 of these people), two expressed more concern for their children than for their own physical well being:

> I have to keep a special watch on (my son) in this neighborhood, especially as it starts to get dark because there have been a few instances where kids have been molested or beaten up.
>
> In a place this big, you don't know what kind of people are here. I don't let (my child) go out alone. People are 'funny' these days.

One woman expressed some concerns about teenagers in the area.

> It's scary in the summertime with the 'packs' of teenagers roaming the street. Nothing really happens, except once some kids threw rocks at my car. (However) I feel more or less safe walking around–as safe as anywhere. I don't hesitate to walk alone at night.

On the whole, fear for one's physical safety was not a significant issue in the Salt Springs neighborhood sample:

> We feel pretty safe here...this is a low crime area
> and the neighbors watch each others property.
> It makes me feel a little more at ease when I'm
> away from home. Also the (police) are around
> now and then. It gives me a sense of security.
>
> On the whole it is a good neighborhood. One that
> I feel safe in and don't fear for the safety of my
> children.

and

> Lot's of people claim (that the) neighborhood isn't
> safe - yet in the 2½ years I've lived here, no one
> I know has been robbed or mugged...I think it's
> a myth-probably (due to) people's prejudices.

This last respondent is alluding to the fact that the neighborhood is generally considered to be an integrated one and contains two low-income housing projects with a predominance of Black residents.

Safety concerns arising out of traffic patterns appeared to be minimal in the Salt Springs neighborhood. Only three respondents mentioned concern for their children as far as traffic was concerned and all of these families resided near main traffic arteries. The net result of their concern was that they kept a closer eye on their children when they were playing outdoors.

Playmates

The issue of whether or not there were enough children of the same age as the respondent's child was voiced by 12 out of the 17 parents. Four of these parents felt that there were not enough playmates of the same age as their child. This appears to be a somewhat subjective assessment on the part of these respondents because other respondents living on the same street had quite the opposite feeling. For instance, two respondents who live in the same block almost directly across from one another made the following statements:

> I dislike (the fact that) there aren't more children
> the ages of my kids.

and

(My child) has lots of peers to play with.

Services

Most of the families in the Salt Springs Area use private physicians and generally feel that these facilities are easily accessible and reliable. The feelings of this respondent are fairly representative of those of most respondents in the area.

> My kids have their own private pediatrician. I like him a lot. He's a very good doctor. He knows how to deal with children. He is close by and relatively young so my children can grow up with reasonable assurance that their doctor will still be around.

Six of the respondents used clinics at hospitals outside the neighborhood. Most felt these clinics were more than adequate. However, one respondent expressed the opinion that a clinic was needed right in the neighborhood because the hospitals were so far away.

There was only one other agency mentioned as important to a family in this sample. This agency was "welfare." This respondent stated:

> Welfare (is important to me). I really have to be thankful, even though it's not much money. It's free and enables me to live on my own with (my son). They give us enough to get by on.

There were a significant number of respondents who expressed either indifference to agencies and organizations in the community or outright hostility towards them, as did this parent:

> I find that agencies and organizations in the community can be degrading. For example, I tried to get (my child) into the day care center at the Jewish Community Center, but after filling out a long questionnaire and giving financial details, I was told I make too much money! I just don't bother to use organizations or services in the community, except for doctors.

This parent gave another reason for not utilizing agencies and services in the community:

> I don't use any services or organizations in this community - there aren't any. Even if there were I probably won't need them anyway because I'm pretty independent.

Housing

Most respondents were happy with their housing arrangements. The majority of families interviewed owned their own homes and felt that they had adequate space inside and outside. Most felt that their homes were in good repair and that their mortgages were manageable. The majority of homeowners felt that their homes provided pleasant environments for their children and that this was important to them.

> I love this house because of the space and the big back yard. My home to me is just beautiful. I couldn't ask for a better house...(My child) loves having her own bedroom. She loves this house.
>
> (This house) suits our needs almost perfectly. (We) like the space - we have a big back yard (which) keeps the kids off the street. (We) like the location.
>
> I think (this house) is very good for (my child). She has a nice big room. She has a yard and a porch to play in. That porch is great! I can leave her there and know she is safe.

Whereas all the respondents who owned their houses felt generally good about their environment, some of the respondents who rented were less satisfied, particularly those living in housing projects.

> You can hear the next door neighbors (in their bedroom) which is embarassing sometimes!...(this place) could use more privacy.
>
> It takes months to get the simplest things fixed. My bathtub was taking about five hours to drain and I waited two months and finally had to withhold my rent (to) force them to fix it...It really is a hassle if something breaks.
>
> My one complaint (is that) once in a while we have cockroaches. I hate them! I'm not a dirty housewife and I resent seeing them. I could see it if the place wasn't clean. (The apartment complex management) should fumigate the whole place. I'm not the only one (with cockroaches). It's humiliating to me.

While these respondents were unhappy with some aspects of their housing arrangement, all expressed delight at the low rents. One respondent summed up the feelings in this manner.

> The really good thing is that the rent is so low because this is (federally) subsidized housing...I could never get a place like this that's as cheap as (it is here).

Other respondents not living in this kind of complex expressed feelings that high rents were a problem in some parts of the neighborhood. Overall, most respondents, both homeowners and renters, felt generally good about their housing situations.

Finances

In terms of overall financial condition, most respondents felt that they were just barely making ends meet despite the fact that they rated their finances as generally good. One of the biggest expenses mentioned by respondents was the cost of home heating. This parent's feelings are typical of a number of respondents:

> The 'energy crunch' is a problem. We've quadrupled our spending on energy (heating and cooling) compared to a year ago.

A number of families cited the inability to save any money as a problem for them:

> I feel that we are just making ends meet even though I got a promotion. We have been unable to put much into savings, especially for the kids. Now I'm aware of the incidental spending as well as the major expenditures. I feel like there is no place I can pull from if I needed it. I would like more in our savings (account).
>
> We are very well provided for. I don't make a lot of money but we don't save anymore and we don't worry about it. I used to eat myself up about it. I could use more money for a better car but I feel comfortable financially.
>
> We get along on what I make. We can manage to meet most of our expenses including house and car repairs out of our curent income. (The) problem is (that) in order to meet all of our needs

> over a year's time...(there's) little left over to save...(I) don't think my income is such that we could be self-sufficient over 15-20 years. (We) will be in trouble if things don't improve.

and finally

> I think we should probably save more (but) it's hard to save now-a-days with the expensive nature of everything, like mortgages, food, insurance, schooling, and everything.

The overall feeling of most families about their financial conditions seemed to be summed up by the parent who stated:

> It's rough, very rough! There usually isn't enough money to go around. But somehow or other we manage. I try not to buy really expensive things, not to use credit cards and so on. I limit what I buy. I feel we could do with more but we're managing barely.

Transportation and Churches

Transportation did not pose a problem for anyone in the neighborhood sample. Most either owned a car or had access to a friend's or relative's car. Respondents also stated that there were a number of convenient bus lines.

Eight of the 17 respondents interviewed stated that church was important to them and their families and that they made it a point to attend church or synagogue on a regular basis. Two respondents expressed an out and out disdain for church and related activities.

Neighbors

A large majority of respondents felt quite good about their neighborhood. They generally felt that people were friendly, cooperative and helpful - as witnessed by the following comments:

> I love living in this neighborhood because we have nice neighbors who look out for one another. The children in the neighborhood get along really well.

> I like living here with (my child) because it's closer to the bus lines...all the neighbors love her and treat her nicely.
>
> I feel fortunate to have tremendous neighbors. They're cooperative. I always have people to turn to in an emergency. They're very giving.
>
> I think there are good people around here - I don't know many intimately but everybody has a commitment to the neighborhood.
>
> (My) neighbor is a good friend. (She's) always there for companionship and child care. She teaches my daughter piano lessons....I feel fortunate to live in such a nice neighborhood with such good people. My neighbors are a source of strength for my (family).

One of the things that appears to attract many respondents to this neighborhood is its heterogeneity as far as race, age, and ethnic backgrounds are concerned. Some of the observations of members of the neighborhood were as follows:

> (There is a) very nice mixture of three basic 'types' of people - one-third are very nice old people (have been here 25-30 years), one-third are young well-educated whites who moved in because they couldn't afford houses elsewhere, one-third are very nice middle-class Blacks who are as interested as we are in keeping property values up.
>
> (Our) kids have opportunities to relate with other races - they won't grow up with prejudices as I did. They won't have a built-in fear about other groups.
>
> I like the neighborhood. (There are) interesting people, (the neighborhood) seems to have integrated successfully and there's a mixture of older and younger people; students and homeowners...I like (the fact that the neighborhood) is integrated. The people (my child) is growing up knowing are from different backgrounds - Black, white, Vietnamese.

and finally

> I like (the neighborhood). It's an integrated neighborhood. (It's been) stable like that for a long time. It's wonderful that my son has Black friends in the neighborhood and in school. (He) learns that they're ordinary people like everybody else. (However), integration causes a lot of people not to want to live here (in this neighborhood).

There were five parents who stated that they did not know many people in the neighborhood and most of these respondents felt that their neighbors were all right even though there wasn't much contact between them.